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Geneva Chemical Weapons Talks 'Disappointing'

LD220012 Moscow TASS in English 2304 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev comments:

If the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty scrapping intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles was a striking positive event of the last year, the outcome of the work of the Geneva conference on a ban and destruction of chemical weapons appeared to be on the whole disappointing. For instance, forecasts on the completion of the work to get agreement on a convention envisaging the banning and destruction of warfare poisoning substances in 1987 did not come true.

The negotiations on banning chemical weapons have a more than 60-year-old history. The United States acted as the key opponent of a comprehensive agreement on this issue virtually throughout all those years. In 1925, the United States signed the Geneva protocol on banning the use of warfare poisonous substances in a war and then on the demand of American military men refused to ratify it for 50 years. The strategists from Washington staked on the possibility of the use of U.S. poisonous substances in Europe and Asia without the risk of a retaliatory chemical strike directly at U.S. territory.

In the post-war years, the calculations for the invulnerability of U.S. territory against a retaliatory chemical strike became groundless as a result of the emergence of long-range missile weapons. However, Washington's attitude to a total ban and destruction of warfare poisonous substances has virtually not changed. Moreover, the United States used on a wide scale chemical substances during the Vietnam war, having poisoned and devastated a considerable part of that country's territory.

Warfare poisonous substances are described, and rightly so, as the most disgusting and perfidious weapon of mass destruction. Millions of people throughout the world are involved in the movement for its prohibition. At the talks on chemical disarmament in Geneva the delegations of many countries take energetic efforts to work out a respective international convention.

The Soviet Union had ceased the production of warfare poisonous substances since April 1987 and announced its readiness to take all possible measures, variants and verification procedures to speed up the signing and entering into force of a convention on banning and destroying chemical weaponry.

The U.S. side, paying lip service to prohibiting chemical weapons, responded to the USSR's constructive initiatives by launching the production of the fundamentally new binary chemical munitions. The U.S. Administration got Congress to set aside funds for the production of over a million binary artillery projectiles.

At the talks in Geneva the U.S. delegation does not take part, as a rule, in a constructive discussion. In those rare cases when the U.S. side advances separate proposals on the content of the convention, they usually are of one-sided nature. For instance, challenge inspections to verify compliance with the convention are mandatory only for state-run chemical plants. The request for such inspections at private plants can be rejected. The inequitable nature of such proposals is obvious: All chemical plants in socialist countries belong to the state and in the United States the majority of them are the ownership of private companies.

The delay in working out the convention on chemical weapons through the fault of the United States sparks off discontent of it even among its NATO allies. According to West German press reports, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who arrived in Washington, intends to call upon the U.S. Administration not to procrastinate the solution of issues related to the banning of chemical weapons.

As for the USSR, it is prepared for the conclusion of the convention as early as by May, 1988 when a special session of the U.N. General Assembly opens.

It is left to hope that common sense will take the upper hand in Washington and the solution of the problems of chemical weapons will be in line with mankind's aspirations.

Fitzwater Statement on Nuclear Modernization

LD211451 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 21 TASS—The United States believes that it has the right to modernize nuclear weapon systems which do not fall under the Soviet-American INF Treaty, Marlin Fitzwater, assistant to the President for press relations, has stated in Washington.

The statement of the high-ranking representative of the administration was made against the background of the growing attacks of the U.S. right-wing circles on the treaty ahead of the ratification process starting next week in the Senate of U.S. congress.

Fitzwater said that the U.S. had always maintained that the INF Treaty did not ban the modernization in Europe of the weapon systems which did not fall under the INF Treaty. This is why the U.S. is free to go on with the modernization. However, the U.S. has not announced any concrete plans, the spokesman for the White House said.

Vienna CSCE Talks Resume After Recess

LD220739 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Vienna January 22 TASS—The third meeting of representatives of the countries—participants in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe resumes its work today at the Vienna centre of congresses and conferences after a month-long break.

The agenda of the meeting that has been going on for over a year includes a wide range of issues whose settlement is of much importance for a further positive development of the all-European process. Representative of 33 European countries, as well as the United States and Canada, will concentrate their efforts on the working out of a final document of the Vienna meeting. It is to reflect new positive trends which are becoming ever more evident in the international situation.

At the same time, consultations of 23 member countries of the Warsaw treaty and NATO will be continued here. Their purpose is to work out a mandate of new talks on the reduction of the armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

U.S. 'Path of Confrontation'

LD220339 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 21 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Boris Anduanov; Vladimir Pasko commentary]

[Text] Tomorrow in Vienna the meeting of the representatives of 35 states who are attending the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be resumed. The purpose of the meeting is to work out proposals aimed at the further advancement along the path mapped out by this conference. On the basis of the proposals made by those attending the conference, the work in Vienna has now focused on the discussion of ten ideas. Two of them apply to the military sphere. It is proposed that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures Security, and Disarmament in Europe should be resumed and that talks should be started on reductions in armaments and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals. Three ideas are connected with the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of the all-European process and five with cooperation in the humanitarian sphere.

According to diplomats, those coordinating the meeting have approximately 70% of the texts for the final document, not approved texts, it is true. While slowly—I remind you the meeting has been going on since November of the year before last—things are moving all the same. Nevertheless, remember that the meeting may end solely in an accord to have another meeting, as happened in Belgrade in 1978. My colleague, Vladimir Pasko, will tell you the reasons for this.

[Pasko] At the press conference a few days ago, the head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting, Ambassador Kashlev, mentioned two serious impediments complicating the talks. One of them is the reluctance of the NATO countries to discuss the question of the so-called binary weapons within the framework of the all-European process. These are weapons capable of carrying both conventional as well as nuclear warheads. We are resolutely insisting that such weapons be included on the list of items being discussed, because they are increasingly becoming part of conventional armament stockpiles. In an attempt to find a way out of the tangle, the Soviet Union has just proposed discussing the nuclear components of such weapons separately.

Another obstacle at the meeting is the very great demands being made by some of those attending it with regard to the humanitarian sphere. In particular, the question is posed of the exchange of passports and exit visas, of complete freedom of immigration, the cutting down to 1 year of the period required before applying for an exit visa after being employed in secret work, of the recognition of the right of any state to convene a conference of all 35 countries to work out incidents of human rights violations in one of them. These are unrealistic demands, even for the West. Nevertheless, they are being put forward. The question arises of the reason for it. This is undoubtedly being done because some of those attending the meeting do not wish it to end in success. If the opposite were to be the case, they would look for compromises. They took the path of confrontation.

As you know, we proposed an extremely reasonable variant—to hold an all-European conference on the entire subject of cooperation in humanitarian matters and of human rights, including the social, economic, civil, political, and cultural aspects, not selectively, but on the problem in its entirety. The West rejects this, but at the same time, just as the minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands did a few days ago, makes the success of the conference dependent on accords on humanitarian questions. How can one explain this? I think it is the unwillingness of the West to conclude accords in the military sphere.

So as not to be without the slightest proof, I will cite the words of the West German newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER "It is becoming inconvenient for the West that it cannot in any way present a united stand at the meeting in Vienna. Just as before, the NATO partners are not unanimous on the question of their aims at the talks. While the West is only talking about stability in the conventional sphere, the East demands a considerable, mutual, stage by stage reduction in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe."

These words were stated at the end of July last year. The newspaper has thrown light on the exact reason for the delay at the Vienna meeting. In the period that has elapsed since, this has not changed. The intentions of the West, even after the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, are not so much turned toward ways of ridding Europe of the excess of armaments as toward ways of compensating for the coming elimination of U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles. But can one regard a stand like that as constructive? Everyone needs to be freed of the excess of armaments, you see. And there is no getting away from that problem.

More on U.S. Missile Testing in Canada

LD201806 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 20 TASS—The launch of a U.S. cruise missile from a B-52 bomber over the Beaufort Sea began a series of tests of this type of U.S. weapon in Canada. The missile flew over the 2,000-km route over the north-eastern area of Canada. Today's test aims at monitoring the operation of the cruise missile's guidance system over the locality mimicking areas in the USSR and Eastern Europe, UPI news agency points out.

During the current series of tests, which will last till March 31 and includes the launching of six cruise missiles, the U.S. and Canadian Armed Forces also check the technical potentialities of their joint anti-aircraft system.

The new tests of U.S. cruise missiles in Canada sparks off protests among the Canadian public.

Arms Upgrading Aims Only to 'Redress Balance'

PM211323 Moscow APN MILITARY BULLETIN in English No 24, Dec 88 pp 1-24

[Article based on recently published book "Armed Forces of the USSR After the War. History of Development" by A. Babakov: "Soviet Armed Forces Since 1945"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted outlining postwar development of Soviet forces]

VI. Trends of Military Development Under Parity [subhead]

By virtue of the logic of military development, having reached the threshold of expediency in the yield of charges and range of delivery vehicles, the perfection of arms followed the road of sophistication and automation of combat use. Under the circumstances the action-reaction principle was taking on significance. In conditions of parity this principle meant that the Soviet Union was bound to react to every advance in the arms race in the United States and NATO in general.

New trends influencing the development of weapons and material, and of the Armed Forces came to be manifest via this principle. The Soviet Union was taking adequate measures to counter the mounting war danger. It was striving to keep parity at a lower level, and intensifying comprehensive political measures with a view to reducing arms all across the line. The USSR also tried to make the development of its strategic nuclear forces, medium-range weapons and conventional arms commensurate with that of the enemy.

The action-reaction principle is not viewed in the USSR as a striving for full equality in the ratio of different types of weapons and combat hardware. Nor does it mean that the USSR wants to respond to the development of weapons by the opposite side with exactly the same arms. It is expressed in much more intricate and diversified forms. In the final count they boil down to the adoption of a system of measures which would adequately counter the threats which are being created by the development of new weapons by its potential enemy. Implementation of this principle requires observance of the following three important rules: first, strict fulfilment of all the adopted international contractual commitments on arms control; secondly, preservation of the overall military-strategic equilibrium between the sides, which rules out any unilateral advantages; and third, new weapons are only developed to counter the appearance of such weapons in the hands of a potential enemy. So, this is a forced measure and is always taken in response to a new spur in the arms race.

This is exactly why the Soviet Union has never initiated the development of fundamentally new types of weapons, displaying restraint in the development of its strategic nuclear forces. Needless to say, it could not accept the fact that by the beginning of the 1970s the United States had twice as many nuclear charges on its strategic delivery vehicles, whereas by the middle 1980s their number had more than tripled.

In the middle 1970s the United States had more than a thousand delivery vehicles equipped with MIRVs. The Soviet Union did not have such missiles at that time.

In the years that followed the USSR developed them to bridge the gap. Different types of high-accuracy long-range strategic delivery vehicles were being upgraded. In the latter half of the 1970s the USSR equipped its armed forces with MIRVed missiles.

The development and adoption of a new type of strategic weapons—long-range cruise missiles in the United States in the middle 1970s compelled the USSR to take response measures. In October 1984 the USSR Ministry of Defense announced that long-range ground-based cruise missiles had been successfully tested in the USSR. From that time the Soviet Armed Forces began to deploy long-range cruise missiles on strategic bombers and submarines. In scale these measures corresponded to the growing American threat to the security of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Considering the trends in the development of weapons and combat hardware in the armies of the United States and NATO, the Soviet Union was upgrading its nuclear-missile weapons designed exclusively for defense. The work was carried in several directions. Missile systems were being improved, and their reliability, combat readiness and effectiveness enhanced. They became simpler to handle and could be serviced by a great deal fewer people than before. More yield was built into nuclear charges, and the accuracy of one-warhead and MIRVed missiles was being enhanced. The missile survivability rate to potential nuclear strikes was being raised, and the automated control of missiles perfected. Medium-range missiles were being modernized.

In response to an accelerated construction of atomic-powered missiles submarines in the United States similar submarines were commissioned in the USSR. In 1975 the USSR had 55 submarines on which 724 launchers with nuclear charges were deployed. Subsequently the Soviet submarine fleet received another seven SSBNs.

In the following years the trend toward qualitative improvement of the strategic "triad" in the United States was preserved. By 1987 the number of nuclear warheads which could be delivered by American strategic delivery vehicles to targets had increased once again. Moreover, SSBN launchers and the deployment of cruise missiles on heavy bombers primarily accounted for the increase in the nuclear warhead total.

In view of the geographical position of the country, and the defensive orientation of the Soviet military doctrine, land-based ICBMs constitute up to 70 per cent of its nuclear arsenal.

The modern logic of nuclear confrontation is such that there exists an objective close interdependence between offensive and defensive systems. The development of the U.S.-planned large-scale space-based ABM system is clearly aggressive: It is bound to become a major element of the offensive potential and to undermine the strategic equilibrium. Continuation of this line will compel the Soviet Union to build up its strategic forces by supplementing them with defensive means so as to restore parity. These measures will be quick, effective and cheaper.

Rough parity has long been maintained in Europe both in conventional weapons and armed forces. The countries of NATO and the Warsaw treaty have strong troop contingents and powerful materiel in a high state of combat readiness.

Strategic parity exerts its influence on the development of the Soviet Navy as well. The efforts are taken to prevent the NATO countries from achieving decisive superiority on sea and ocean theaters of military operation.

The equipment of the Soviet Navy continues being upgraded. It had adopted new missiles cruisers—the Kirov and the Frunze, anti-submarine cruisers—the Leningrad, the Kiev, and the Minsk, as well as big antisubmarine ships. Apart from antisubmarine weapons they are equipped with powerful air-defense systems.

A big achievement of Soviet ship-building is the development of specialized landing ships which ensure landings with heavy combat hardware on unequipped shores. In recent years the sea-going ability, manoeuvrability, and speed of such ships have been increased. These ships are mostly armed with rapid-fire all-purpose artillery.

As we see, the development of weapons under the action-reaction principle dooms to failure any plans of achieving superiority, whether with space weapons under the SDI program or any others. The United States may just pre-empt the USSR in the development of these or other types of weapons and combat hardware. Countermeasures will inevitably redress the strategic balance.

U.S. Body Calls For End to Nuclear Tests

LD211432 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Chytov reports:

The prestigious research organization Council on Economic Priorities called for a complete and universal end to nuclear weapons tests.

The specially prepared report "Banning Nuclear Tests: Verification, Compliance and Savings" quotes several reasons in favour of this important step to prevent further acceleration of the nuclear arms race. In the authors' opinion, it becomes possible above all thanks to radical measures of verification contained in the recently concluded Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. One of the most important findings of the report reads that observance of a complete ban on nuclear tests could be securely controlled and, therefore, an agreement on this would contribute to strengthening of U.S. national security.

Moreover, the report points out, an end to nuclear tests would bring about the saving of huge material resources at a time when the USA is seeking to cut the huge deficit of its federal budget. According to experts' estimates, a ban on nuclear tests would help save 3-4 billion dollars annually even at the first stage. Later, Alice Tepper Marlene, president of the Council on Economic Priorities, notes, such a ban would start interfering with development and deployment of new nuclear weapons delivery systems. Then annual economy would reach several dozen billion dollars.

The report's authors attach top priority to the repeatedly confirmed readiness of the USSR to conclude a treaty on complete and general prohibition of nuclear arms tests. They emphasize that even before the INF agreement had been reached the Soviet Union had observed a unilateral moratorium on such tests for 18 months, while the USA stubbornly refused to join it. Under the present new circumstances such an approach of Washington must be radically changed.

Last but not least, the U.S. experts believe that in the past few years sentiments in favour of ending nuclear tests are growing in the United States. Last May the U.S.

House of Representatives voted against any appropriations for nuclear tests in 1988 under the condition that the USSR would refrain from them too. At the time the Senate did not agree with this proposal. However, there are favourable chances for its adoption during the new Congress session, points out the report.

Film on Signing of INF Treaty Screened

LD212118 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The USSR State Committee on Radio and Television Broadcasting today showed the film-reflection "Washington, December, 1987" to journalists.

"We decided to go beyond the framework of the prosaic chronicle of events to which the content of films about official meetings and visits is usually limited", said Valentin Zorin, political news analyst who did the screenwriting. "Our film is an attempt to evaluate what has happened in Washington, to debate on its causes and results".

The footages of the previous meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Geneva and Reykjavik became a peculiar prologue to the screen narration. Without "Geneva-85" which proclaimed that there was no chance of a victory in a nuclear war, and "Reykjavik-86" that tested for strength the Ideas of the new thinking, "Washington-87" would have been impossible, the film stresses. It would likewise be impossible without bold Soviet foreign policy initiatives that dispel dogmas, without the readiness to react to today's realities, which emerged in Washington.

The historic shots that feature the signing of the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles have the attending words as follows: "It is hard to believe that only a short while ago in the White House they talked about the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire', claimed that 'business could not be done with Russians'".

Describing the Washington meeting as an important stage in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, the authors of the film at the same time cite the following words by Mikhail Gorbachev "If one stands firm on the ground of facts and does not lapse into overestimation, it is too early to speak about a fundamental shift in our relations..."

The author's commentary rings out from the screen: It takes no small efforts from both sides, enormous patience and restraint, inexhaustible reserve of good will and a wide vision of the world that corresponds to today's realities for this shift to become a fait accompli and assume an irreversable nature".

Official on Joint Enterprises' Prospects, Tasks

PM191309 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with S.Yu. Savin, chief of the Foreign Trade Ministry Department of Production Specialization and Collaboration and New Forms of Cooperation with Socialist Countries, by Captain 2d Rank V. Kocherov under the rubric "Horizons of Integration": "Guideline—Mutual Advantage"; date, place not given]

[Text] On 13 January 1987 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the Law on Questions Connected with the Creation of Joint International Enterprises on USSR Territory and Their Activity. Our correspondent addressed S.Yu. Savin, chief of the USSR Foreign Trade Ministry Department of Production Specialization and Collaboration and New Forms of Cooperation with Socialist Countries:

[Kocherov] Stanislav Yuryevich, recently we have been hearing frequently about the creation here of particular enterprises jointly with capitalist countries. If I am not mistaken, there are now approximately 20 of them. But how do things stand with the creation of joint enterprises with socialist countries?

[Savin] We have 13 such enterprises. In addition, there are 20 international associations, 50 scientific and technical organizations, and approximately 700 enterprises which have established direct ties among themselves. Almost all the joint enterprises are on our partners' territory: five in Hungary, three in Mongolia, and one each in Bulgaria and Vietnam. Regarding joint enterprises on USSR territory, there are three. They are all Soviet-Hungarian.

[Kocherov] What accounts for the fact that only 3 out of 13 are in our country?

[Savin] Chiefly the small experience in creating such enterprises in our country.

[Kocherov] Could you briefly describe some joint enterprises?

[Savin] The Soviet-Hungarian "Mikromed" joint enterprise is building up a good working pace. Last year it supplied the USSR with medical equipment—chiefly diagnostic instruments—to a total value of R3.5 million. Deliveries will increase in the future, and in 5-6 years' time their value will have increased to R100 million. There is also definite progress in the work of the Soviet-Vietnamese "Vietsovpetro" joint enterprise, which extracts oil and gas. Its task is to put Vietnam among the oil-producing states. Two deposits—"White Tiger" and "Dragon"—have recently been developed there, and marine oil platforms have been set up.

The "Erdenet" Mining and Enriching Combine, whose equal coowners are the Mongolian Ministry of Geology and the Mining Industry and the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, is more than 8 years old. During this time a profit of more than 1.7 billion tugriks (approximately R430 million) has been made. In exchange for energy carriers (solid fuel, oil, petroleum products, electricity) the USSR receives ores and metal concentrates from the "Erdenet" and "Mongolsovtsvetmet" Enterprises.

[Kocherov] What are the prospects for the creation of joint enterprises between the USSR and CEMA countries?

[Savin] Talks are currently being held on the creation of another 30 similar enterprises. Seven of them will be created on USSR territory, and the rest on our partners' territory. As previously, the chief guideline when concluding treaties is mutual advantage.

CEMA Creates Agro-Industrial Committee

PM221001 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 3

["Own Information" report: "Restructuring Cooperation Mechanism; First (Inaugural) Session of CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of the Agro-Industrial Complex Has Begun Work in Moscow"]

[Text] The CEMA session, having examined at its 43d (extraordinary) Session (13-14 October 1987) the question of restructuring the mechanism of CEMA's multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration and activity, defined measures to substantially improve CEMA's structure and to enlarge or abolish a number of its organs of a narrow sectorial nature.. Among the newly created CEMA organs it has been decided to institute a CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of the Agro-Industrial Complex, whose range of activity will include questions of cooperation in agriculture and forestry, the food industry, and the use of biotechnology in these fields. Its task is to promote, through the pooling and coordination of the CEMA countries' efforts, the further intensification and improvement of cooperation and the development of these countries' socialist economic integration to satisfy food requirements. In its activity here the committee will proceed from the consistent implementation of the international socialist division of labor with a consideration for the worldwide division of labor.

With what specifically will the new committee be engaged? Its main function is the organization of the fraternal countries' cooperation in coordinating economic and scientific and technical policy for elaborating, on a collective basis, ways of resolving the most important problems of collaboration in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex. It will also engage in coordinating basic questions of the long-term development of agriculture, forestry, and the food industry and organize the fraternal countries' multilateral scientific and technical cooperation on the most important problems of scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial complex for the entire cycle from scientific research work to the production and sale of output.

Gerasimov Briefs Journalists in Moscow 21 Jan

Outlines Future Arms Talks

LD212225 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] The chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Department, Gennadiy Gerasimov, has held a briefing on international issues at the ministry press center in Moscow. He said in seeking a mutually acceptable way out of the complex situation with regard to the tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the Soviet Union had suggested that talks on this issue be divided into two stages. The first stage could see talks on cuts in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, including the dual purpose weapons. These are those types of armaments capable of delivering both nuclear and conventional warheads.

The nuclear component proper, Gennadiy Gerasimov continued, could become the topic of separate negotiations in the future, hopefully in the near future. The removal of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe, accompanied by drastic cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments would strengthen European stability and security. This, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, would reduce the possibility of sudden attack and promote an atmosphere of trust.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said the USSR had always treated with great understanding the initiatives of the Delhi Six, an organization uniting Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania. He expressed the hope that their current summit conference in Stockholm would be a positive contribution to the consistent work for a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. This country, Gennadiy Gerasimov concluded, wished the Delhi Six every success in its efforts to strengthen international security and promote disarmament.

On Shevardnadze Visit to FRG

LD211342 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The visit by Eduard Shevardnadze, the foreign affairs minister of the USSR, to the FRG revealed that our two countries realised the need to keep disarmament going, not to lose tempo and to try and prevent any hiatus, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry told a briefing today.

Our views on priorities in this field, he noted, do not coincide on all subjects. But the opinion prevailed that the positive trends in disarmament area should not be endangered by rearmament plans, the compensational build-up of armaments in Europe. The positions of our two countries are close on the question of banning and destroying chemical weapons. An agreement was reached to exert every effort to conclude the talks on this issue as soon as possible. An exchange of views on regional conflicts proved useful.

As for the bilateral relations, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, new pages are being currently filled with concrete contents. He noted the special importance of the protocol on consultations, providing for annual meetings between the foreign ministers, which must add continuity and intensity to the bilateral dialogue.

At the same time, the Soviet spokesman said, it was stressed at the talks that all manner of restrictions, for example, the Cocom list on trade of West German firms with the Soviet Union, turned out to be a serious braking factor on the development of economic cooperation. If these factors are not removed the far-reaching cooperation is impossible.

On Shevardnadze in Spain

LD211303 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Talks held during Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's official visit to Spain have demonstrated that relying on the proximity or concurrence of their positions on matters of principle, the two countries can step up joint or parallel efforts to strengthen peace, security and cooperation in Europe and elsewhere, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here.

Speaking at a briefing, Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said much attention at the talks had been given to the problem of regional conflicts, with the sides expressing the conviction that such conflicts should be settled by political means.

As the situation in Central America was examined, they welcomed the result of the latest Central American summit, according to the spokesman.

"In our view, Spain, on account of its historical connections in the region, has good possibilities for more actively helping the nascent positive process in Central America on," he added.

On 'Group of Six' Talks

LD211347 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The initiatives of the "Group of Six" have always been given keen attention in the Soviet Union because "we believe that they express the aspirations of a majority of nations", Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said in a comment on a meeting of the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden, which opened in Stockholm today, that they saw their overriding task now in preventing the nuclear disarmament process from grinding to a halt.

They regarded action to facilitate the conclusion of a treaty on a general and complete prohibition of nuclear testing as another top priority, he added.

"We hope that the current meeting in Stockholm will make a positive contribution to consistent efforts to create a nuclear-free and non-violent world," Gerasimov said.

On 'Illegitimate' Israeli Acts

LD211428 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The United States set itself in opposition to the will of the international community once again when on January 19 it used its right of veto in the Security Council to frustrate a resolution on Israel's aggressive actions, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said today.

Gerasimov, chief of the Ministry's Information Directorate, added at a briefing here that the U.S. position could not but encourage Israeli "hawks" to perpetrate further acts of violence and other outrages.

"As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we strongly condemn Israel for its illegitimate actions against Lebanese and Palestinians who have found shelter in Lebanon, as well as against the population in the West Bank of the River Jordan and Gaza," he said.

"Gambling on force is only fraught with further aggravations, heightened confrontation and more violence," the spokesman warned.

"It is only a fair and comprehensive settlement through collective effort within the framework of an international conference that can ensure peace and security for all countries and peoples in the region, including Israel," Gerasimov emphasized.

On U.S. Aid to Contras

LD211416 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—A Soviet spokesman noted today that the U.S. Administration's stated decision to resume operations to supply contra gangs in Nicaraguan territory and ask Congress for further funding with this aim was in sharp contrast to the San Jose summit which has decided to continue the process of a peace settlement in Central America on the basis of the Guatemela agreement.

The spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, told a briefing here: "The U.S. Administration takes the view that if it does not do that, the United States will make one of its most tragic mistakes. To our mind, it will be one of the most tragic mistakes to try to quench a fire with kerosene."

Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, added: "After the San Jose meeting it has become clearer than ever before that U.S. aid to contras is the main stumbling block in the way of an enduring peace in Central America.

"If the United States really wants to promote a settlement, the aid to the contras must be cut off."

On Faeroe Islands

LD211513 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The British magazine THE ECONOMIST has claimed, citing NATO experts, that the Soviet-Faeroe fisheries agreement of 1977 has given the USSR substantially broader possibilities to monitor NATO naval activities in the Faeroe zone.

Commenting on the claim, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov dismissed it as "an obvious, umpteenth attempt to scare northerners in the worst tradition of 'cold war'".

Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing.

He ridiculed THE ECONOMIST correspondent's allegation that the 400 Soviet specialists and fishermen temporarily staying on the Faeroe Islands in connection with repairs on ships of the Soviet Fisheries Ministry could seize the strategically important islands in a crisis.

Gerasimov said it was regrettable that the Danish press had picked up THE ECONOMIST's "silly" assertion.

"Following this logic, we should be worried about an invasion of Odessa which is visited by many more foreign sailors than the Faeroe Islands," he quipped.

"As to the real rather than imaginary problems of security in the north, the USSR is prepared to discuss them constructively in the context of initiatives put forward in Murmansk by Mikhail Gorbachev," the spokesman said.

On Canada Testing U.S. Missiles

LD211542 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The tests of advanced U.S. weapon systems, which have started in Canada recently, contribute to this country taking an active part in a new spiral of the nuclear missile race, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told a briefing here today. He reminded that according to statements of Canadian officials, the aim of the tests was to check the guidance systems of cruise missiles over territory resembling regions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"Such acts by Canadian authorities," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said, "run counter to their own statements on concern of the people of their country over the arms race, on the need to continue the nascent process of real nuclear disarmament and on the importance of fostering the climate of trust between East and West in the field of security."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Report

PM221555 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] The routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on 21 January focused on the situation in the world's trouble spots.

G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, reminded correspondents of the unprecedented acts of repression that the Israeli occupiers are committing against the Palestinian Arab people on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. The UN Security Council's discussion on 19 January of Israel's aggressive actions, a discussion requested by the Lebanese Government, showed once more that Tel Aviv's banditry and disregard for basic human rights are arousing the most widespread indignation and condemnation. Virtually all the Security Council members supported a draft resolution which stressed that Israel must cease its actions aimed at seizing Lebanese territory and withdraw its troops from that country without delay. However, the United States felt it possible to prevent that resolution from being adopted.

Turning to the new moves undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua, which is seeking to actively promote the normalization of the Central American situation, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that as a result of the meeting in San Jose, the decision was made to continue the process of seeking a peaceful settlement in this region on the basis of the Guatemala agreement. Against the background of the encouraging results of that meeting, a note of sharp discord was sounded with the statement by U.S. officials that the U.S. Administration has decided to resume its operations to supply the contra gangs on Nicaraguan territory and to ask Congress for large new appropriations for material aid to the contras. This approach is clearly like trying to douse a fire with kerosene, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. After all, since the San Jose meetings, it has become more clear than ever that the main obstacle to establishing a lasting peace in Central America is the U.S. aid to the contras. If the United States really wants to promote a settlement, that help must be halted completely and without delay.

The world public's attention has been drawn to the comment on tactical nuclear weapons made by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze during his visit to the FRG. Clarifying the USSR's position to journalists, G.I. Gerasimov noted that the Soviet Union supports a comprehensive approach to the problems of disarmament, both globally and regionally. Gerasimov also says that no aspect of this problem should be overshadowed at any stage. The USSR believes that the interests of all the European peoples would be met by the complete elimination of tactical nuclear facilities. Removing tactical nuclear weapons from Europe and solving this problem, along with with substantial reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments, would increase stability and security on the continent, reduce the likelihood of a surprise attack, and help strengthen the atmosphere of trust.

In connection with the third meeting of the "Group of Six"—the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden—which has opened in Stockholm, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that the Soviet Union has always paid great attention to that group's initiatives, which express the desire for peace of the majority of countries. The hope was expressed that the current meeting in Stockholm will make a positive contribution to consistent efforts to create a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

Answers were given to journalists' questions.

Sweden's Carlsson on Disarmament, 'Group of Six'

PM211525 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent A. Maslennikov report on interview with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson in Stockholm, 20 January, under the headline "No Stopping Halfway"]

[Text] Stockholm, 20 Jan—Before the start of the third meeting of heads of state and government of "The Initiative of the Six for Peace and Disarmament" due to open here on 21 January, Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson gave an interview to journalists, including Soviet correspondents.

I. Carlsson reminded them that the "Group of Six," which includes India, Greece, Tanzania, Argentina, and Mexico, as well as Sweden, was formed to galvanize public opinion and the governments of all countries and to promote the nuclear disarmament process. Now, with the historic Soviet-American agreement to eliminate intermediate-range missiles, the role of the "Six-Nation Initiative" lies in preventing any halt in this process and working for further steps in the direction of nuclear disarmament. The "Group of Six," the prime minister stressed, can give impetus to the process of freeing the world of nuclear weapons. That is why we have gathered here now.

Our activity, I. Carlsson continued, is supported by the broadest circles in many countries all over the world. They believe in the feasibility of the task of eliminating nuclear weapons, which is our movement's ultimate goal. At the meeting in Stockholm, we intend to discuss two main issues: the situation that has developed in the world as a result of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty and the program of future action which will guarantee the continuation of the nuclear disarmament process.

Answering Soviet correspondents' questions on the role played by the "Six" in ensuring the nuclear disarmament process, I. Carlsson noted that the movement's participants can make a very big contribution to this process. First, he said, we can and must help to further mobilize world public opinion in support of nuclear disarmament. Today's world is faced with a terrible threat of nuclear catastrophe. No one is protected against this threat. In order to survive, all countries—nuclear and nonnuclear—must present a united front. I believe that the most urgent task at the moment is to conclude a treaty on a complete and total ban on nuclear tests. We are prepared to further this aim by assisting the nuclear powers in the development of reliable verification measures. I would like to emphasize that verification is not a purely technical issue. It primarily requires political decisions. We are prepared to continue our activity to ensure that an end to nuclear tests becomes reality.

Second. We are proud of the fact that from the very beginning we have made our own contribution to solving such a large and complex problem as verification of nuclear disarmament. Progress has been made in this respect. We are willing to continue this work and assist the nuclear powers in developing the most effective methods of solving this task.

The Swedish prime minister noted that plans to militarize space must be abandoned if successful progress is to be made in nuclear disarmament. These plans are incompatible with continued progress in ridding the world of the nuclear threat. In his opinion, the militarization of space is totally at variance with what M. Gorbachev and R. Reagan agreed upon in Washington. Their accord was a gigantic step toward ridding the world of the nuclear threat. America's SDI program, the prime minister said, is a step in the wrong direction, a very dangerous and expensive step. It contradicts the logic of modern world development.

Answering a question about the possibilities for implementing the program to rid the world of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons, as proposed in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 Statement, I. Carlsson said that Sweden and the other states involved in the movement support the ideas contained in this program. It corresponds to the course of world development favored by the "Six" because it leads to the creation of a nuclear-free world. This, unfortunately, cannot be said of the SDI program, which takes the completely opposite direction.

Answering a question by one of the Western correspondents—whether the accord reached in Washington to hold talks on the problem of reducing the number and yield of nuclear tests looks like a deal made behind the backs of other countries—I. Carlsson said: We are realists and appreciate that in certain situations the nuclear powers decide issues at bilateral talks based on each other's positions. But at the same time, they have to consider international public opinion and the interests of the world community. I am sure that the position of the six countries was also considered, as one of the factors that had a direct bearing on the decision reached in Washington.

The Soviet correspondents asked the prime minister whether he regards the Washington agreement as an isolated event or as the beginning of a process that could lead to a nuclear-free world. I believe, I. Carlsson said, that a good start was made in Washington and must be followed by other big steps, the first being a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons. I would like to hope that this will happen in the first half of this year, during the next Soviet-U.S. meeting in Moscow.

Touching on the problem of military expenditure, the Swedish prime minister noted that this is not only a heavy burden on small countries but also on such giants as the United States and the Soviet Union. "We discussed this matter during the recent visit to Sweden by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers," he said. "We were of the general opinion that a rejection of militarization would not only make it possible to ease the material burden but would also allow scientific expertise and talent and other human resources to be used to improve people's living conditions and develop deeper, more fruitful cooperation between peoples, particularly between states in north and south."

Answering the Soviet correspondents' question about NATO politicians' plans for an arms upgrading which would "compensate" for the planned reduction in nuclear potentials, the Swedish prime minister stressed that the easiest way to avoid this would be to extend disarmament to new spheres. If the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles remains isolated, sooner or later it will be circumvented. To prevent this from happening, the boundary lines of disarmament must be extended and agreements reached on a reduction in strategic and tactical weapons, the nonmilitarization of space, and the creation of nuclear-free zones and corridors in central and north Europe, and also in other regions. In this connection, I. Carlsson appraised highly the program to reduce military confrontation and develop peaceful cooperation proposed in M.S. Gorbachev's Murmansk speech.

We intend to hold talks with other northern countries, I. Carlsson said, and work out our position regarding these proposals. M. Gorbachev has raised for discussion very interesting questions, which we intend to talk about in a constructive spirit.

Shakhnazarov Examines 'World Government' Concept

PM211011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by G. Shakhnazarov, corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences, under rubric "Questions of Theory": "The World Community Is Amenable to Government (upravlyayemo)"—boldface as published]

[Text] It is common knowledge that the rate of progress—economic, scientific, technical, and social—in the 20th century has been much higher than during the previous century. However, even against this dynamic backdrop, the frenetic kaleidoscope of events and the sharp twists and turns that have abounded in international life of the past decades look perplexing. Mercilessly overturning dogmas and prejudices, life is presenting theoretical thought with ever new puzzles and categorically dictating the need for creative renewal.

The beginning of such a renewal was laid by the foreign policy concept put forward by the 27th Congress of our party. It is based on the fundamental ideas of the interconnection and interdependence of the present-day world which represents a specific entity. This is the result of the internationalization of world economic ties, the all-embracing nature of the scientific and technological revolution, the fundamentally new role of the information and communication media, the state of the planet's resources, the general ecological danger, and the strident social problems of the developing world which affect everyone. However, the main factor is the emergence of the problem of survival of the human race since the existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of their use have called into question mankind's very existence.

I [subhead]

Essentially, the concept of interdependence is nothing but the development of one of the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism—that of the internationalization of mankind's economic activity and of all social activity—applied to the conditions of our time.

An indispensable and most important consequence of this process must be the enhancement of the **degree to which the world is amenable to government [mera upravlyayemosti mirom]**. The first to broach this subject, as is usually the case, were philosophers, albeit in rather vague terms such as global spirit, global wisdom, and so forth. Then came the science fiction writers. Scientists took over from them—after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many scientists came to the conclusion that henceforth only a world government [mirovoye pravitelstvo] could save mankind from perishing.

The hope that the creation of a centralized international authority would help to prevent a world war was nurtured with the foundation of the League of Nations and the conclusion of various agreements, which contributed to the gradual transformation of international law into an integral system. However, the peak of this current of political thought which was referred to as mondialism (from the French word "le monde"—the world) dates back to the fifties and sixties.

It must be admitted that during the fifties, the theoretical and practical Soviet foreign policy attitude to the idea of mondialism was unequivocally negative. There were serious reasons for this. Most of the advocates of world government [mirovoye pravitelstvo] were categorically opposed to sovereignty, declaring this principle to be all but the source of all evil. This was happening at the very moment when dozens of former colonies and semi-dependant states were freeing themselves from imperialist bondage. It goes without saying that in this light, encroachments on sovereignty appeared doubly reactionary.

There was another, no less important circumstance. At that time the United States held absolute sway in the capitalist world. It had a considerable advantage in economic, political, and military terms in the global correlation of forces. The idea of world government [mirovoye pravitelstvo] was bound to end up as nothing other than the legalization of the domination of the world by U.S. capital.

Over the more than 2 decades that have elapsed since then, the situation in the world has drastically changed. In terms of the capitalist world, a serious redistribution of might between the United States on the one hand, and West Europe and Japan on the other hand, has taken place. While retaining its position as the leader of the capitalist world, the United States can no longer claim absolute supremacy.

Assessing the changes on a world scale, it is necessary, above all, to bear in mind the attainment by the Soviet Union of military-strategic parity with the United States, the general growth of the socialist countries' economic might and political influence, and appreciable progress and consolidation of the political positions of the developing countries and the nonaligned movement, and other factors.

In short, one of the main arguments against world government [mirovoye pravitelstvo] has disappered. As for the second argument, this obstacle could also be removed if the implementation of the idea could be divorced from encroachments on sovereignty. Is this possible? Is there not an objective contradiction between sovereignty and world government [mirovoye pravitelstvo]? This contradiction does exist, but the point is that the concept of an interconnected, interdependent world provides the key to its solution. It is a question of building a new international political order based not on the denial of sovereignty and national independence of states (this remains a reactionary demand to this day) but on the basis of taking account of and coordinating their interests. As is known, it is the **balance of interests** of the various states that forms the core of the concept of the world as an entity, which was put forward by M.S. Gorbachev.

II [subhead]

There can be no doubt that the world community is managed [upravlyayetsya] by the joint efforts of its members. Were it otherwise, trains would not cross borders, pirates would rule the waves, planes would constantly be colliding in midair, and the air waves would be a confusion of voices. Furthermore, the world would long ago have ceased to exist: It would have been consumed in a nuclear war.

In order to exercise management [dlya upravleniya], there must be law and a government [pravitelstvo]. In our time international law has become so widely developed that its norms are used to regulate [reguliruyutsya] many spheres of international life. There is no government [pravitelstvo] yet, but there is every basis for talking about the beginnings of one—the numerous international organizations headed by the United Nations which perform, albeit with limited powers, the most diverse administrative and managerial [administrativno-upravlencheskiye] functions.

How is one to assess the level of governability of the world [stepen upravlyayemosti mira] that has been achieved—is it sufficient, does it fully correspond to mankind's existing needs? There can be no simple answer to that question.

For understandable reasons, international administration [upravleniye] has made the greatest progress in the sphere of transport, communications, and trade, and on a broader scale, in the international division of labor. In other words, we are talking about the traditional exchange of material and spiritual assets, as well as the maintenance of public order by joint efforts. It goes without saying that in this area of activity, too, one which has long been regulated by joint norms and rules; there is a need for constant renewal. But the existing international mechanism makes it possible to pose and resolve these questions quite flexibly.

It is far more difficult with international relations as regards so-called universal and global problems. For example, whereas one can speak of a certain degree of governability [upravlayemost] or, rather, the regulation [regulirovaniye] of states' actions on a bilateral, group, or collective basis in the spheres of health care, education, the organization of emergency aid for the victims of natural disasters, and the struggle against crime, areas such as the joint protection of nature have still not become the object of mankind's general concern despite their vast significance to humanity.

This claim may be disputed. But what has been achieved can only be assessed more or less soberly by measuring it against the scale of the problem. The latter is so great that there is every justification for placing it on a par with the danger of nuclear war. In such a system of coordinates, there is no justification yet for speaking seriously either about manageability [upravlyayemost] or even about any effective joint struggle to save man's environment.

The situation is the same, if not worse, with another equally formidable global problem: the gap between the economically developed countries and the underdeveloped countries. This problem is by no means beyond the scope of international cooperation. There are quite a few regional and world aid problems in existence, although the insignificance of these efforts and their failure to measure up to the true need is demonstrated by the fact that in the eighties, the gap between the economically developed and the underdeveloped countries began to widen again.

But until recently, perhaps the most difficult problem was that of war and peace. Once again there are more than enough good intentions to be seen. However, one must recognize the extremely low, indeed paltry degree of governability [upravlyayemost] in this sphere, which is of vital importance for mankind. The subject of special anxiety is the steadily increasing pace of the arms race which, if continued, threatens to destroy all of mankind's hopes for the future and doom him to inevitable catastrophe.

The degree of danger also determines the degree of our general satisfaction with the fact that it is thanks to the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union—and we can say this with a clear conscience—and thanks ultimately to the prudence of both sides at the recent Soviet-U.S. summit, that it proved possible to halt the train of the arms race on at least one track and then agree on ways to derail it. However slight the percentage of weapons liable to destruction at present, the mere fact of that destruction enables one to speak of a significant increase in the degree to which the questions of war and peace are amenable to management [mery upravlyayemosti voprosami], primarily because solutions have been found to many of the concrete, extraordinarily complex problems that necessarily accompany the disarmament process.

But however great and incontrovertible the significance of the two (intermediate- and short- [as published—"malyy"] range) nuclear missile "zeroes" is, it is of course too soon to say that the questions of war and peace have reached the required degree of manageability [upravlyayemost voprosami]. The militarist forces' activeness and their desire to be compensated with interest for the destruction of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by other means of mass destruction give an idea of the obstacles still to be overcome.

III [subhead]

The success of future work for peace conclusively depends on success in further boosting the degree to which the world is amenable to government [upravlyayemost mirom]. Hitherto almost every step on this path was taken at the cost of great efforts and was only possible as a result of a prior cataclysm. The Caribbean crisis of 1962, which brought the world to the brink of nuclear war, encouraged the establishment of a "hot line" between Moscow and Washington and the adoption of a number of other "preventive" measures. The Chernobyl tragedy provided a powerful impetus for cooperation in the sphere of the management and control [upravleniye i kontrol] of the development of nuclear energy. The appearance in the world or the awakening from dormancy of the AIDS virus—this scourge of the 20th century—gave rise to sharp intensification in cooperation among medics.

What can be done to ensure that henceforth the need for cooperation and joint control [upravleniye] of the course of events does not have to be proved by dangerous incidents and to ensure that constructive political thought preempts and prevents crises? That is the ultimate question. Now that the first success has been achieved with regard to abandoning the arms race, it is important not to lose the momentum, for every major agreement creates favorable preconditions for progress in other spheres also. To put it more simply: More peace means more development, more joint concern for nature, more security for nuclear power stations, and more chances to be rid of epidemics, and so on.

Hence the need to take advantage of the "momentum" created in order not to grow slacken off but proceed further. This approach prevailed in Washington, where it was agreed in the wake of the Treaty on the elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles to reach an accord on a 50% reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive armaments.

The possibility of stepping up the measure of world governability [mera upravlyayemosti mirom] to meet mankind's requirements depends on many factors, and above all, on the readiness of all participants in the world community to put common human interests above any others.

The socialist world is well prepared to resolve such a task. The idea of internationalism has been enshrined in the very nature of our system. But we would be acting against our conscience if we did not add that, along with our society's splendid internationalist properties, there are also negative phenomena making themselves felt, these being associated with long-standing "rose-tinted propaganda," which has inspired the conviction that our country is always unreservedly right in its actions in the international arena. It is perhaps especially intolerable that in defiance of the Leninist tradition in literature, especially within the historical novel, attempts have been made to reappraise from chauvinistic positions the fundamental class assessments of certain events in the prerevolutionary past and depict in a justificatory, or even eulogistic, tone individual episodes in the oppressive and aggressive policy of czarism and that of the rulers of the states that constituted the Russian Empire.

Of course, genuine Soviet socialist patriotism has nothing in common with blind nationalism. For nothing ennobles the people and does it credit in the eyes of other peoples like the ability not only to take pride in the glorious deeds of one's forefathers and work good deeds oneself but also to judge one's history objectively and acknowledge one's mistakes honestly and with fortitude.

In short it is a question of learning to look at oneself from outside and seeing not only one's merits but also one's weaknesses and endeavoring to get rid of them.

Human rights are a subject of particular complexity for international regulation [uregulirovaniye]. The question of human rights, that is, ultimately the status of the individual in a particular society essentially falls within the compass of internal affairs. Making it a subject of international regulation [uregulirovaniye] by general voluntary consent would entail a breakthrough to another level of world governability [upravlyayemost mirom].

Of course, this is by no means a task that could be resolved by any one agreement. I think this is quite a lengthy process during which political principles and legal norms for cooperation must be elaborated. Our attitude toward it is obviously predetermined by the fact that Marxism-Leninism sees the provision of conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual as the untimate goal of the socialist, communist transformation of society.

Furthermore, participation itself in such a process enables the practice itself to be improved. Lenin, as is well-known, deemed it essential to take account of criticism emanating from the enemy camp if there was even the slightest element of truth in it. By rectifying its shortcomings, broadening the zone of social justice, and enriching the rights of the individual, socialism will prove its total superiority over capitalism.

But discussions on human rights can and must, naturally, unfold on an equal footing. At the moment, this is not happening and here the hypocritical nature of Western speculations on this topic and the desire to make propaganda capital from it are being exposed. Indeed, if the United States and other imperialist states take the human rights charges they have levelling as applying to themselves as well—and sooner or later this is unavoidable—then they will have to tackle in earnest many acute social problems that are inevitably concomitants capitalism.

Thus we have a right to draw the conclusion that the sphere of world governability [upravlyayemost mirom], despite all its contradictoriness, is slowly but steadily expanding. This process is for the good of mankind. It can only be given the requisite dynamics by peoples' common efforts. However great the role of ruling political parties' and governments' constructive initiative may be, these very initiatives can only become reality if they are accepted and supported by the international public and become the expression of general human will.

The English political specialist E. Mortimer writes: "If the 18th century were French, the 19th English, and the 20th American, then won't the 21st be Japanese? In all events, the transition to a new hegemony will take several decades. At least it will as long as we live in a multipolar world. But how will we be able to govern [upravlyat] it, taking into consideration the fact that the existence of nuclear weapons excludes the traditional process of recording changes in the geopolitical balance—namely war? Truth to tell, we have no idea."

The English author has reached an impasse because his thought cannot break free of the old logic's limitations. At the same time, it is not the next powerful hegemony that is becoming increasingly perceptible in the future but a "world concert" playing a melody of peace and cooperation without a conductor.

United States & Canada

Reagan Interviewed on Disarmament

LD211735 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 21 TASS—President Reagan of the United States gave an interview to the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI. In the interview he touched upon the question of the talks on strategic offensive arms reduction and prospects for the conclusion of a corresponding agreement between the USSR and the USA. The President said, in part: "My recent meeting with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington resulted in considerable progress toward implementing our goal of 50 per cent reductions in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive arms." Reagan said the arrangement on strategic offensive arms would constitute "an historic achievement". At the same time he said he does not wish "to underestimate the difficulties of this task" and made a reference to verification problems.

The head of the U.S. Administration noted that during the Soviet-American summit the sides agreed to instruct their representatives at the talks in Geneva to be striving to conclude the drafting of a treaty on strategic offensive arms and all related documents within the shortest possible period of time so that it could be signed during the next meeting of the leaders of the states in the first half of 1988 in Moscow. But he passed in silence the fact that organic relationship between the drafting of an agreement on strategic offensive arms and the working out of an agreement that would oblige both sides to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 has been confirmed in the joint Soviet-American statement at the summit. One of the articles of the ABM Treaty says that each party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy space-based ABM systems. Ignoring this provision, the President intimated that Washington does not intend to impose any restricitons on the "Star Wars" program, and that programme is a serious obstacle on the road to the reduction of the arsenals of strategic arms.

The head of the White House actually confirmed the intention of the U.S. Administration to continue military preparations in Asia. He explained the need for such preparations by a reference to an alleged "steady Soviet buildup of forces deployed in East Asia." However, he did not furnish any proof of his words.

Answering the question about the United States relations with Japan in connection with the recent visit of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita to Washington, Reagan admitted the existence of some differences in the question of trade between the two countries. At the same time he emphasized that Washington and Tokyo are "close allies" and that they have a "remarkable relationship." The President spoke favourably about the decision of the Japanese Government to increase considerably the expenditures toward the upkeep of the U.S. military bases in Japan and other measures taken by Tokyo in the framework of indirect support for U.S. actions in the Persian Gulf. Reagan also approved of the increase of Japan's military allocations by 5.2 per cent which is envisaged by the draft state budget for the 1988 fiscal year and emphasized great importance for the ensurance of the capability of Japan's armed forces to conduct military operations to a distance of up to 1,000 nautical miles from its territory.

Reagan Outlines Aims of Last Year in Office

LD200046 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1919 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Washington, 19 Jan (TASS)—President Reagan today delivered a speech to members of the Cabinet and other employees of government departments in which he dwelled on his administration's record and set out its aims for its final year in office. His speech was a kind of general rehearsal before the President's final address to Congress in a week "on the state of the nation", in which he traditionally outlines the main directions of White House business for the coming year. Judging by today's statement, the administration is not setting itself any far-reaching tasks and is proposing a fairly modest agenda for its last 12 months in office.

Reagan tried to present the results of the 7-year term of his administration in the most rosy light, voicing an optimism about future prospects which is not shared by many Americans. The President once again voiced his steadfast support for the Nicaraguan contras and stressed that the White House would strive to get from Congress further military aid which is vital, he said, for "their survival". In exactly a week the White House will submit on Capitol Hill an official request for military aid to the contras which, by present assessments, could amount to $100-270 million.

Trying to justify the huge build-up of the U.S. military might under his administration, Reagan said that "strength, and not weakness, is the best means of achieving results in relation to one's enemies". He again called for a continuation of the "Star Wars" program.

Reagan's 'Curious Forgetfulness' Over Irangate

LD202246 Moscow TASS in English 2222 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—TASS News Analyst Dmitriy Yakubov writes:

The U.S. press reports on the speech of President Reagan before members of the Cabinet and high officials of federal agencies in which he set out the milestones in the work of the administration and summed up the aims of its activity in near future.

Much scope in his speech was given to setting out his intentions to press on the U.S. Congress to get a considerable sum of money for military aid for Nicaraguan contras which, the President said, is in order to provide them with what they need "to survive." The President's emotion in stating his constant striving to continue a firm support for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries apparently led to the fact that in mentioning the main milestones of the administration's activities in various areas he forgot to provide sufficient coverage for such a noticeable, not to say scandalous, page of that activity as the organization of illegal secret arms deliveries to Iran and funnelling part of the funds thus earned to the contras.

Curious forgetfulness indeed. Curious for the reason that many aspects of precisely that activity of the administration eroded Washington's prestige also among loyal allies of the USA who are usually inclined to endorse and support without reservation U.S. actions in the international arena. The U.S. actions described in the press as the Iran-contra affair showed too clearly that there exists a great discrepancy between words and deeds. Undoubtedly, following the publishing of the results of the congressional investigation of the Iran-contra affair, the world press in a number of cases started covering in a different light some aspects of the U.S. foreign policy.

Speaking in Iowa City Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole known for his support for Washington foreign policy course described the Iran-contra affair of the White House as a catastrophic deal which has no justification. He said that venture undermined trust in Washington's official policy.

Being aware of such assessments of the "Irangate", the President thought it would be better to "forget" that affair and not to draw attention to it.

Evidence on Embassy Marines Discussed

PM221111 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Event Which Never Was"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Jan—The U.S. secretary of state has been obliged in fact to admit the groundlessness of the accusations against the Marines who were guarding the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. "The facts which have become known have indeed shown that the situation was possibly not what was feared earlier," spokesman Charles Redman said at a routine briefing in the State Department, hastening to add: "But I don't know whether answers have been received to all questions."

With the consent of officials, the U.S. press began to fuel the ballyhoo around the "case" of the Marines in the spring of last year. At the time the administration made accusations of the "violation of the sovereignty" of the U.S. Embassy, claiming that some Marines had helped the "penetration" of "Soviet agents" into it.

Now, THE WASHINGTON POST reports, "the U.S. Government has reached the conclusion that this was all wildly exaggerated." During the many months' investigation of unprecedented scope, the newspaper writes, "no evidence was discovered to corroborate the claims of Soviet penetration of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow." "The event that never was," was how Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador in Moscow, recently summed it up.

The "case" of the Marines which, as THE WASHINGTON POST noted, "threatened to harm Soviet-U.S. relations which had improved after a long cooling period," has struck against the organizers of the act of provocation. According to the newspaper, Washington has been convinced of the unsoundness of claims of a "plot" between the Marines "after the tremendous damage caused to the embassy's possibility of functioning normally when millions of dollars were spent on replacing the equipment installed."

Bilateral Protocol on Joint Research Signed

PM211707 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by TASS special correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev: "Agreement Signed"]

[Text] Princeton (New Jersey), 20 Jan—The Seventh Session of the Soviet-U.S. Commission on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Council of Learned Societies signed a protocol here, at Princeton University, Tuesday.

The document was signed for the Soviet side by Academician G.A. Arbatov of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute, and for the U.S. side by Stanley Katz, president of the U.S. Council of Learned Societies.

"The protocol," Allen Kassof, executive director of the International Research and Exchanges Board, told the news conference for American and foreign journalists, "is of very great significance. It will make it possible to carry out joint research in virtually all spheres of the social sciences in the next 2 years." Thus, the sphere of international relations will see "research into topical problems of world politics, above all, problems of relaxing international tension, ending the arms race, disarmament, and the development of Soviet-U.S. relations; and scientific research into important regional problems." Cooperation among U.S. and Soviet scientists in the sphere of economics, history, archaeology, sociology, philosophy, social changes, and a number of other spheres has also received new impetus.

Immediately after the signing of the protocol your TASS correspondent asked the cochairmen of the Soviet-U.S. commission to comment on the event. "We are conducting dialogue on problems of great significance for both countries," Katz observed. "It is no secret that certain points of tension still remain. However, they do not today constitute the nub of Soviet-U.S. relations." Our research, he continued, is proceeding in areas which are of vital importance for both the governments and the peoples of our two countries. For example, "it is planned to conduct public opinion polls on disarmament questions. Discussion is also under way on how to put the economic structures of the United States and the Soviet Union on a completely peaceful footing." "And if our countries' political leaders take decisions based on the most up-to-date and uniform scientific data, the whole world will breathe more easily," Katz said.

"When such cooperation had just begun in 1975 there were only 9 joint projects; there are now more than 120 each year," G.A. Arbatov pointed out. "They are of undoubted significance for scientists of both countries. But I would like to talk about the political significance of such contacts. This is an important part of the dialogue that is developing between the two countries' scientists, since very many problems concerning the state of bilateral relations form part of our research." "The recent Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and the positive phenomena in our states' relations in the international arena have exerted an enormous influence on the development of cooperation between U.S. and Soviet scientists," he observed. "And we social sciences specialists will, for our part, be seeking to help deepen mutual understanding, which will make our relations firm and stable."

Further Report

LD200952 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Princeton, New Jersey January 20 TASS—By TASS special Correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev:

A protocol of the seventh meeting of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy of Sciences was signed at Princeton University Tuesday night.

It was signed by Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' president of the American Council of Learned Societies.

The program provides for furthering the cooperation of the two countries in joint studies in sociology, politics and culture. It stipulates also strategic studies and analyses in these fields.

The ceremony was attended by Yuriy Dubinin, Soviet Ambassador in the United States.

Clark Views U.S.-Japanese Military Cooperation

LD211116 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 21 TASS—Speaking at the Brookings Institution, William Clark, U.S. assistant secretary of state, has pointed out that American-Japanese relations in the military sphere were developing in the right direction. Specifically, roles and missions were defined for the 60,000 U.S. military contingent deployed in Japan and the Japanese Self-Defense Force. According to Clark, even today Japan has a major military force: 250,000 officers and men, 47 destroyers and some 300 fighter planes.

Touching upon the prospects of the development of Japanese-American military ties, he mentioned in the first place joint development of anti-submarine and anti-aircraft weapons and made it clear that cooperation between the two countries in that and other spheres would be further expanded. At the same time, the high-ranking official made no secret of the fact that relations with Japan were just one of the elements of Washington's global strategy. He pointed out that North-East Asia and actually the whole of Asia through which the road to the Persian Gulf was going was of tremendous importance for ensuring U.S. security.

U.S.-Japanese Cooperation on Fighter Production

LD181111 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 18 TASS—TASS Correspondent Vladimir Solntsev reports: A new group of U.S. military experts will arrive in Tokyo this month to complete preparations for a joint development and production of a support fighter of the new generation for the Japanese Airforce called FSX, KYODO Tsushin report today quoting sources in Japan's National Defence Agency.

Initially, the Japanese military establishment intended to build the aircraft relying on its own forces. However, last October under pressure from Washington it was forced to agree to its joint development on the basis of the U.S. F-16 fighter-bomber produced by the corporation "General Dynamics" in order to ease trade friction between the two countries. Several days ago, U.S. experts already conducted three-day consultations here with Japanese experts on this issue.

The draft state budget for fiscal 1988, which has been endorsed by the Japanese Government recently, envisages the appropriation of 2.15 billion yen for the development of the new fighter. It is supposed that some 130 such aircraft will be introduced into operational service with the Japanese Airforce by 1997. The newspaper MAINICHI today expresses the view that the issue of the joint development of FSX would become a key topic of discussion at the talks between Tsutomo Kawara, head of the National Defence Agency, and Frank Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defence, opening in Washington tomorrow.

Congressman Talks With Nicaraguan Vice President

LD210955 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 21 TASS—Congressman Don Edwards, California, has strongly criticized in Managua the aggressive policy of the U.S. Administration with regard to Nicaragua.

During his meeting with Vice-President Sergio Ramirez of Nicaragua he emphatically denounced the intention of U.S. President Ronald Reagan to make U.S. Congress allocate more money to the contras so that they could continue their terrorist activities against peaceful civilians of Nicaragua.

The voting in congress next month on the question of allocating 270 million dollars to the contras can bring about an open demand that all the assistance to the mercenary groups be stopped.

The Democratic majority opposes the allocation of more financial resources to the contras and the continuation of the war in Nicaragua. It believes that the administration's policy in Central America is wrong, Edwards pointed out. He expressed confidence in a possibility to achieve a peaceful settlement in the region on condition that all the Central American states will observe the Guatemala agreement.

Abrams Favors Aid to Nicaraguan 'Mutineers'

LD211028 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 21 TASS—The Reagan administration does not intend to abandon the policy of diplomatic, economic and military pressure on the Nicaraguan Government. This is clear from a statement made on Wednesday by Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs.

Calling Nicaraguan mutineers a "resistance movement", he alleged in an interview with the ABC TV company that only their refusal to lay down arms made the Nicaraguan Government conduct the negotiations. The USA has no other way out, the state secretary assistant pointed out, but to continue rendering aid to this "movement". If the USA turns away from them now, the entire process for establishing peace in the region will crumble down overnight, said Abrams.

U.S. Immigration Policy's 'Double Game'

PM201421 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Double Game"]

[Text] Washington—More than 100 years ago the U.S. Congress adopted the first law on immigration, which specifically prohibited "criminals, prostitutes, lunatics, and idiots" from entering the country. Whatever the linguistic excesses of the then "founding fathers," their motives and aims seemed perfectly explicable and clear. The young, aggressively developing capitalism of America needed a work force, minds, and talents—not "human ballast" roaming in search of refuge. The legendary yet cynical American pragmatism aptly nicknamed the essence of the immigration policy as the "export of gray matter."

Since then the legislation has been "amended" several times, bringing the categories of "desirable" and "undesirable" immigrants into line with the needs of the American economy, culture, and art. The latest modification occurred in 1986, when the "immigration reform and control act" was adopted. The richest nation remained true to its consumer reflexes and dictated to itself an even stricter selection of those who want or who are "taught" to want to make their way into "heaven on earth."

As far back as some 30 years ago some people in Washington were quite frankly saying that "immigration is one of the nation's most important resources." They were probably ashamed to dissemble, after picking up world authorities in physics, chemistry, biology, and in dozens of other spheres of science. Now, it seems, hypocrisy is celebrating victory. "We are a country of immigrants. We intend to preserve our heritage as a country of immigrants," A. Nelson, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, declared. The White House too was "equal to the occasion," emphasizing in one of its documents that "this law was drawn up to establish a reasonable, honest, regulated, and reliable system of immigration to the United States without discriminating in any way against any country or any people."

Of course, the legend is not fresh, and there is no way it can be believed. Because the manifest untruth—to put it mildly—of official declarations is glaringly obvious even to an outside observer. In this case, this law is in no way a "tow bar" [dyshlo] but is of a clear-cut or, rather, a rigid nature from the viewpoint of selectiveness and the criteria governing who is and who is not to be "admitted" to America. Under no circumstances semiskilled people from Mexico, El Salvador, Haiti, or other countries in Latin and Central America, Africa, or Asia. As many skilled people as you like from West Europe, the

USSR, and other socialist states. As a rule, their ability, knowledge, and experience are not just fitting but are essential to corporations here.

So that such conclusions should not seem idle, it is probably worth corroborating them with actual American conclusions. Here, for example, is what W. Johnston, a Hudson Institute staffer, wrote in THE WASHINGTON POST: "Taking appropriate education and training into account, these immigrants will not only be absorbed by the U.S. economy. They will make it stronger. America, whose arteries are starting to harden ominously, will find itself younger, richer, and more competitive in the world than it would be without these new immigrants."

Equally unambiguous was the conclusion of the Congressional General Accounting Office, which investigated immigration applications to the United States. The office's recently published report pointed out that "people from developed countries will be far more likely to be granted entry rights than representatives of Latin American countries, for example." A. Specter, Republican senator from Pennsylvania, responded to this as follows: "I am very concerned. The investigation provides evidence that the immigration process is controlled by the Department of State and is thus an object of political pressure based on foreign policy considerations." The senator had in mind not only discrimination against people from developing countries. He had been angered, as may perfectly well be assumed, by that same hypocrisy. In advertising America as a "nation of immigrants," Washington gives clear priority to enticing citizens of socialist countries, and the Soviet Union above all. They are seeking to kill two birds with one stone—to "bring minds over" while passing this tactic off as "defense of human rights." It should be said that Washington is actively abetted in this dirty game by Tel Aviv and various kinds of organizations and foundations which conduct a veritable "hunt" for prospective "migrants to the promised land." Here, as a rule, such "migrants" set out directly for the United States, not for Israel.

It must be pointed out that in this, at least, history is repeating itself, and the present administration certainly cannot claim laurels for innovation—in the seventies, when the flow of people emigrating from the USSR was particularly great, a high-ranking Washington spokesman bluntly declared that in that way the United States, at the Soviet Union's expense, had resolved by 50% the mathematician problem....

The changes taking place in our country have deprived U.S. politicking of many trump cards—but the inertia of combining practical advantage with political speculation is maintained here. What is more, it is boomeranging on the initiators of the double game, making them rack their brains over unexpected time faults.

THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote of just this recently. It said that the easing of the regulations governing emigration from the USSR had created "political confusion in the Reagan administration." Neither the White House nor Congress had expected such a goodwill gesture, and so they were caught unawares. In short, they had not put sufficient funds into the budget to receive the latter-day immigrants. Now, trying not to fall face-down in the mud, they are extricating themselves at the expense of those who wish to come to America from other countries. "We need time to adapt to the new realities," Washington says apologetically.

It really is time to adapt to the new realities. Time to understand that the Soviet Union has no lack of humanity. Time to call things by their proper names and to stop dressing up the theft of "gray matter" in the diaphanous clothes of demagoguery.

History, Prospects of Trade Cooperation

PM191511 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 2, Jan 88 (Signed to Press 7 Jan 88) p 21

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Spandaryan, acting deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute, under the rubric "Foreign Economic Ties": "USSR-United States: New Landmarks in Cooperation"]

[Text] Throughout the entire history of the Soviet state its relations with the United States have been subject to more frequent and sharper fluctuations than its business ties with any country. But business ties between no two other states have multiplied as swiftly as those between the USSR and the United States in the years of a thaw in their relations, reflecting the colossal potential of creative collaboration between the two greatest powers of modern times.

During M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States the two powers took historic new steps along the path of easing international tension. The Washington meeting resulted in the creation of a propitious atmosphere for a joint quest for effective ways to develop business cooperation between the two countries, and this was reflected in the Soviet-U.S. summit joint statement. This document not only expresses the firm intention to expand mutually advantageous trade and economic relations but also gives instructions on setting up a Soviet-U.S. joint commission on trade and drafting specific proposals aimed at achieving this goal.

The prospects emerging in the sphere of mutually advantageous business contacts call for yet another critical interpretation of the existing experience in collaboration between the two countries, placing all that is best in it in the service of the new and promising opportunities for Soviet-U.S. trade and economic relations.

Good Groundwork [subhead]

The last revival of USSR-U.S. business ties, which occurred in the early and midseventies, was conditioned by the collapse of the "cold war," which had lasted several decades, and the successes scored by the movement for international security and cooperation. No matter how short lived the detente in USSR-U.S. business relations was, it did produce memorable landmarks along the path of the two great powers' advance from confrontation to cooperation.

A well-conceived system of agreements on all basic questions of Soviet-U.S. cooperation was developed during the early seventies. A trade agreement was concluded in October 1972 providing for the reciprocal granting of most-favored-nation status and the rejection of discrimination in trade, and making it mandatory for both parties to encourage the establishment of effective business ties between the two countries' firms and organizations. A USSR Trade Mission opened in Washington, and a U.S. Commerce Bureau in Moscow. A long-term agreement on promoting economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the United States was concluded in 1974.

The system of these and several other accords, including accords in the sphere of transport and scientific and technical cooperation, created unique opportunities for the broad development of Soviet-U.S. economic ties. And this system began to operate immediately.

Total commodity turnover between the two countries in 1971-1975 increased eightfold compared with the preceding decade. It was in excess of R2.2 billion in 1976.

A series of major agreements between Soviet organizations and U.S. firms was concluded at the same time. The best-known among them is the multibillion-dollar long-term barter agreement with Occidental Petroleum. A complex for the production, storage, and transportation of mineral fertilizers was created in the USSR soon afterward, and a start was made on reciprocal deliveries of ammonia, carbamide, and potassium chloride from our country to the United States and of superphosphoric acid from the United States to the Soviet Union. Today both countries derive an annual benefit of over R300 million from these reciprocal deliveries.

The negotiation stage was reached on major cooperative projects for the creation of new capacities and the reconstruction of existing enterprises in many sectors of the Soviet economy: the oil and gas, chemical, timber, and pulp and paper industries, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, and others.

The Soviet-U.S. Intergovernmental Commission on Trade created in 1972 and the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC) set up in 1973 began their activities. Dozens of U.S. corporations, banks, and firms opened branch offices in Moscow, and the Soviet Purchasing Mission in New York began operations.

But the revival of Soviet-U.S. economic relations proved short-lived. The effect of anti-Soviet circles' interests was soon felt again, and under pressure from them the U.S. Congress froze the implementation of important interstate agreements.

In the Grip of Stereotypes [subhead]

Events in Poland and Afghanistan unrelated to bilateral economic relations were used as a pretext for obstruction. Once again, just as in times past, the calculated possibility of undermining the Soviet economy provided one of the main latent motivations for intensified negative attitudes toward economic ties with the USSR. In particular, the Democratic administration of President Carter imposed an embargo on grain exports and stricter controls on the exports of the latest technology to the Soviet Union, initiated the policy of "economic sanctions" against our country, and demanded of U.S. allies the pursuit of a similar course. Later on, the Republican administration also made its own contribution to the policy of restrictions and prohibitions on trade, economic, scientific, and technical ties with our country. Suffice it to recall the attempt to frustrate the cooperation agreement between the USSR and West European countries on the construction of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod export gas pipeline.

Before long, very many people were convinced of the futility of economic confrontation and of its potential for inflicting more painful blows to the interests of its actual initiators. The grain embargo, which hurt the U.S. farming community, was lifted at the very start of R. Reagan's Presidency. The Soviet export gas pipeline was built on schedule, while many U.S. firms lost major Soviet orders which were placed with West European and Japanese firms. According to U.S. data, restrictions on the export of petroleum equipment to the USSR alone resulted in U.S. firms losing contracts worth 2 billion dollars in 1978-1985. The Reagan administration was ultimately forced to lift these restrictions too in the mideighties.

Better Late... [subhead]

Over the last few months prominent U.S. business representatives have been making increasingly loud statements in favor of a critical review of trade policy toward the Soviet Union. "The time has come," R. Schmidt, prominent businessman and president of the American Committee for East-West Accord, declared shortly before the USSR-U.S. summit meeting, "to look at our trade with the Soviet Union without emotions and with an honest desire to correct past mistakes."

Not so long ago the U.S. national Academy of Sciences published a study which bluntly proves that the current restrictions on exports are not producing the expected results and, specifically, are not widening the gap between the United States and the USSR in the sphere of the latest technology. Through these restrictions, the study notes, the United States loses each year export orders worth about 9 billion dollars, which is equivalent to the loss of 200,000 jobs. A demand to review export legislation was also made by a large group of U.S. industrialists, trade unionists, and scientists headed by J. Young, president of Hewlett-Packard.

Apart from the evident ineffectiveness of the policy of embargoes and discrimination against the USSR, another two important factors influence the sentiments of broad strata of the American public. One is the radical changes in the USSR's economy and foreign economic ties, which are defined by that pithy word which, today, does not need translating into other languages—perestroyka [restructuring]. The other is the increasing difficulties of the American economy: sluggish growth rates, the alarming size of the budget deficit and the negative trade balance, and the growth of the domestic and foreign debt.

In these conditions the long-term U.S. international economic strategy, in the opinion of many American experts, must without fail incorporate the development of normal economic cooperation with the Soviet Union—cooperation which is in both countries' interests both today and in the long term.

As the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in the United States showed, such cooperation is entirely possible.

As a first concrete step, it is necessary to restore the trade treaty basis that was created in the first half of the seventies. This mechanism, which had been established but was mothballed to suit narrow anti-Soviet groupings, could be set in motion at will in a very short space of time. It is also obvious that mutually advantageous relations cannot develop to full capacity without the mutual granting of most-favored-nation status and normal credit opportunities, and without strict observance of the sides' commitments under intergovernmental agreements and commercial contracts.

Here a new way of thinking is needed, and first and foremost the abandonment by a certain proportion of American circles of the concept of "trading with the enemy" and the practice of arbitrary interpretation of the concept of "strategic commodities," which introduces elements of instability and unpredictability into commercial relations.

Joint Efforts Needed [subhead]

One practical and concrete task is the need to more actively establish and extend reciprocal business ties and contacts. Many American firms, because of the influence of anti-Soviet propaganda and strict restrictions, have lost even their former not very prolific information on the Soviet market, and have no idea how to deal with possible partners in the USSR. On the other hand, Soviet organizations, for whom access to the American market was for many years closed or restricted, have also lessened their business contacts with American partners, preferring to establish long-term ties with firms from other countries, in particular Western Europe and Japan. In the light of the lessons the American side taught us by trying to use economic ties to bring pressure to bear on the USSR, the caution shown by Soviet organizations in establishing business cooperation with American firms is understandable.

The ASTEC [American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council] has once again started to do useful work to establish business contacts. An idea it is working on that merits particular attention is that of setting up a consortium involving interested Soviet organizations and American companies with a view to developing long-term, large-scale economic cooperation. All available channels must be used in tackling this important task of developing Soviet-American cooperation, including stepping up the exchange of exhibitions and the holding of symposiums, especially in view of the fact that many Soviet industrial enterprises and associations now have direct access to the foreign markets.

To develop mutual trade, it is important for both countries to improve the competitiveness and quality of their goods. Combining the efforts and advantages of both sides can produce significant results, especially in the development and introduction of sophisticated technologies and, in the context of the organization of industrial production sharing, in the activity of joint Soviet-American enterprises. This will make it possible to improve the competitiveness and quality of the jointly developed and produced output not only on the Soviet and U.S. markets, but also on the international market.

Certain potential, arising from the two countries' geographical location, exists in the exploitation of the natural wealth of the Soviet Far East and northern regions of the USSR and the United States, and also in the development of the economic potential of the Pacific region as a whole.

Trade between our countries cannot develop successfully on a basis that is chronically unbalanced for us, and in this connection particular significance is attached to questions of expanding Soviet exports to the United States. Here too it is not only a matter of eliminating the excessive duty and artificial restrictions on imports of Soviet industrial goods, but also of energetic efforts by the USSR's foreign trade and industrial enterprises on the American market.

On the American side, complaints are often made, and not without foundation, about the lack of promptitude and length of time taken by Soviet organizations in studying proposals and requests from American firms. This applies, for instance, to cooperation in the agro-industrial complex, where there are virtually no obstacles.

The reorganization of foreign economic activity in the USSR, in particular the direct access to the foreign market for a large number of Soviet industrial ministries, associations, and enterprises, has as one of its goals that of increasing promptitude and flexibility in resolving specific questions in the development of business ties.

The Soviet-American statement at the highest level gave the "go-ahead" to the creation of commercially viable joint enterprises. Progress in this direction has already begun: The first Soviet-American enterprises have been set up. The expansion of this process could play a marked role in the further development of trade relations and scientific, technical, and economic cooperation.

There is another, equally important aspect of Soviet-American economic ties, apart from their bilateral significance: They cannot develop in isolation from international economic relations. The policy pursued by the United States with regard to trade with the Soviet Union has a negative effect on the entire process of development of world economic ties. This is also not least because the United States demands that other countries impose restrictions and bans on trade, economic, scientific, and technical ties with the USSR and hampers our country's participation in international economic organizations.

The normalization and development of bilateral economic relations between the USSR and the United States will promote the more harmonious and constructive development of the world economic and international trade and the resolution of a number of global problems in the interests of equal economic security for all states.

American Employees Delegation Visits Kiev

AU200730 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 16 Jan 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 15 January V. G. Urchukin, Ukrainian Council of Ministers deputy chairman, received a delegation of the American Federation of Government Employees. During a conversation the visitors were briefed on the socioeconomic and cultural development of the Soviet Ukraine, and on the way the republic was restructuring, above all in the economic sphere and in the field of science. The delegation members were briefed on the further democratization in all aspects of public life, and on the working people's part in the control of state affairs.

Both sides noted the importance of the accords reached during the Washington summit meeting. It was emphasized that these accords would promote mutual understanding between the peoples of both countries, and would expand cooperation in various fields. Favorable conditions are now being created to expand friendly relations between the United States of America and the USSR, A. Kaplan, the federation's national secretary, said. In this respect, it is highly important to promote public contacts between large administrative and cultural centers, including Kiev and Chicago. Like the Soviet people, he said, we Americans are looking for a new meeting between the leaders of our two countries.

U.S. TU Delegation Arrives in Moscow 10 Jan

PM191247 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Jan 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Arrives"]

[Text] A delegation of the American Federation of State Employees led by A. Kaplan, national secretary and treasurer of the federation, arrived in Moscow 10 January on a first official visit at the invitation of the state employees' trade union central committee.

During its stay in the USSR the delegation will also visit Leningrad and Kiev, become acquainted with the life and work of Soviet working people and the activity of trade union organizations at the present stage, and hold talks on questions concerning the development of bilateral Soviet-U.S. trade union ties and business cooperation.

Soviet, U.S., Canadian War Veterans Meet

LD181511 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Representatives of the Soviet War Veterans Committee, the American organisation Veterans for Peace and Canada's Veterans Against Nuclear Arms met in Moscow today to discuss the role of veterans' organisations in promoting the creation of a comprehensive system of security.

Besides discussions at the Soviet War Veterans Committee, the guests will meet with the representatives of other Soviet mass organisations and state agencies.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

PRK Army's Tasks in Wake of SRV Withdrawal

PM221129 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Strengthening the Armed Forces"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 20 Jan—The defense of the revolution both now and in the future demands increasingly determined work to strengthen the fighting spirit of soldiers in the PRK's Armed Forces, the newspaper PRACHEACHON writes. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces [KPRAF] must honorably do their duty of defending the country after the possible return home of the Vietnamese volunteers. This is the paramount and long-term task of the party and the republic's Armed Forces and people.

Thanks to the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, including Vietnam, KPRAF subunits have considerably increased their combat capability. The Army's task both in the border regions and within the country is to ensure the more effective monitoring of the situation in the countryside, to split the enemy's subunits into small groups, to make it difficult for them to receive cross-border [iz-za rubezha] supplies, and to cut their ammunition and weapons supply lines.

Noting the considerable successes achieved in strengthening and increasing the traditions of the KPRAF, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee organ points out weaknesses persisting in this work.

In present-day conditions the success of the Cambodian Armed Forces' operations is guaranteed by the resolute restructuring of political work among soldiers and above all by the concern to enhance the party's leading role in army units.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Urges UN To Hold Mideast Parley

PM221031 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

["Letter to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar]

[Text] The permanent representative of the USSR to the United Nations, Aleksandr Belonogov, today handed UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar a letter from Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The letter said:

Esteemed Mr Secretary General,

Recent developments have once again focused international attention on the Middle East situation. Mass Palestinian protests in Israeli-occupied lands have acquired the scope of a popular uprising. They demonstrate graphically the danger of delusions of those who seek to retain at all costs others' lands captured by force of arms, believing passing time eventually helps perpetuate the results of the aggression. Thus they are evading a serious, businesslike search for ways to defuse the Middle East situation.

The tension continuing unabated in the Middle East is having adverse effects on the political atmosphere not only in that region but also on the international scene in general, erecting obstacles to progress toward a secure world. Changing the dangerous trends in the Middle East situation is a collective duty for all nations vitally interested in general security.

In the Soviet Union, we are satisfied that the international community has become increasingly aware of the need to achieve a poliltical settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict without delay. This has been borne out by mounting support for the idea of an international conference on the Middle East as the sole real and dependable means of bringing about such a settlement. This support showed distinctly during the last, 42nd session of the UN General Assembly as well. It is ever more imperative to translate the political will of states, as expressed in general assembly decisions, into specific practical actions to untie the old knot of Middle East problems. Encouraging developments in international affairs are creating favorable conditions for solvong this problem.

It is our conviction that the United Nations has the lofty prestige and necessary potential to dynamize the process of a Middle East settlement. There is a considerable untapped potential in this field, which should be fully put to use. First of all, we believe that the Security Council, as the principal UN agency responsible for maintaining universal peace, should at once join in practical activities to establish and start up a mechanism for an international conference on the Middle East, which is called upon through multilateral efforts to find a reasonable balance of interests of all sides concerned and ensure a lasting peace and security in the region.

We suggest that the Security Council members begin consultations to examine related matters. We believe that the initiative in this respect could be assumed by the permanent members of the Council. Conclusions and recommendations resulting from these consultations could be considered at an official meeting of the Security Council. We propose that this session be held at the foreign minister level, considering the special importance of the issue to the maintenance of international security. We would like to hope that for your part, Mr Secretary General, you will use all means at your disposal, and your personal authority, to effectively facilitate general agreement on urgent practical steps toward convening an international conference on the Middle East.

With respect, E. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister

U.S. To Site Nuclear Weapons on Diego Garcia

PM211137 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Newspaper's Conclusion"]

[Text] Antananarivo, 18 Jan—The Pentagon is planning to site nuclear weapons on Diego Garcia Island in the event of a crisis situation. This is the conclusion reached by Mauritius' L'EXPRESS, based on an analysis of recent articles in the U.S. press and publications from Britains's Royal Institute for International Affairs. The newspaper stresses that the Pentagon already regards its base on this island, illegally seized from Mauritius, as one of the most important elements in the ground communications for the "Strategic Defense Initiative."

Najibullah Hopes for Constructive Geneva Talks

LD201227 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul, 20 Jan (TASS)—Today Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, met a group of foreign journalists here and answered their questions.

The national reconciliation policy, the president stressed, is directed at establishing peace and security in the country. Together with the coalition forms of rule, this policy will occupy a chief place in our future plans. We have addressed, he noted, 20 peace proposals to the opposition, offering it 27 posts, including the posts of vice president, prime minister, and a number of ministers, as well as senior posts in the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs. However, the leaders of the counterrevolution from the so-called "Alliance of Seven" have taken an unconstructive stance on this matter.

Najibullah stressed that the matter of the presence of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is one of a whole package of issues being discussed in Geneva. We hope that the Afghan-Pakistani talks, which will resume this February in Geneva, will be concluded and that the Pakistani side will take a constructive stance at them. If agreement is reached on all matters and guarantees are also given on noninterference in the affairs of Afghanistan, then this year can become the last year of the stay of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Republic. In accordance with the documents to be signed in Geneva, the United Nations has the right to monitor the process of implementation of the agreements, both on the territory of Afghanistan and on the territory of Pakistan. As for our Armed Forces, they are currently in a position to keep the situation in the country under control.

Answering the journalists' questions, Najibullah stressed that Afghanistan is linked by relations of friendship and cordiality with the Soviet Union.

Afghan Rebels' Rejection of Reconciliation Noted

PM221143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Shurygin "Rejoinder": "They May Miss the Boat..."]

[Text] Yunis Khales, one of the leaders of the so-called "Alliance of the Seven" in the camp of the Afghan counterrevolution, came out with his latest statement a few days ago. He declared that the group he heads rejects the national reconciliation policy being implemented by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. His group does not recognize this government as a possible partner in the talks to restore peace and decide the future of the country.

This statement was obviously timed to coincide with the visit to Pakistan and Afghanistan of Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, in preparation for the next round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks being conducted in Geneva through his mediation and scheduled for the second half of February this year. It is expected that this time they could pave the way to decisive results on the issue of the settlement of problems concerning Afghanistan. Incidentally, the extremist-minded leaders of the Afghan counterrevolution are also rejecting any positive results that may be achieved at the Geneva talks.

The militant position of the leadership of the "Alliance of the Seven" can, in my view, be explained by a desire to return to the leaders of the Afghan reaction the influence, riches, and power they lost as a result of the April Revolution, and also by a clear overestimation of its strength and potential. Hence their intransigence and unwillingness to enter into any compromise.

However, history cannot be turned back. Over the 10 years that have elapsed since the April Revolution, irreversible changes have taken place in the socioeconomic life of the Afghan people. Political and state structures have been created which have proven their viability. Anyone who demands that all this be abolished resembles the well-known Shchedrin character who wanted to "close down America."

The sooner they grasp this in the camp of the Afghan counterrevolution, the better—and that includes themselves. The Afghans who have grown tired of war are today judging people, parties, and countries by their contribution to the cause of ensuring a speedy end to the fratricidal bloodbath. Consequently, the extremists who demonstratively refuse to listen to the constructive appeals of the people's authorities may miss the accelerating boat of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

Local Afghan Reconciliation Success Reported

PM221101 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent D. Meshchaninov: "Peace Has Come to Maywand"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Kashk-e Nokhowd-Qandahar-Kabul—Government troops ceased fire throughout the territory of Afghanistan on 15 January 1987 in accordance with the policy of national reconciliation. But the long-awaited peace still did not come to Afghan soil. The bloodshed continues. The ringleaders of the Afghan counterrevolution and their foreign patrons are to blame for this. Nevertheless, the policy of national reconciliation is bearing fruit. Last year 40,000 members of armed groups laid down their arms and took up a peaceful life again.

Our Kabul correspondent here describes one of the regions where peace has been established.

The road from Qandahar to Kashk-e Nokhowd is 80 km long. Our direct helicopter flight took half an hour. The two rotary-winged craft flew at the lowest possible height (roughly 10 m) to avoid antiaircraft missiles. Cracked earth with small islands of dried-up wormwood stretched out around us as far as the eye could see.

The Qandahar-Herat highway shone in the rays of the hot, unwinterlike sun; the cube-shaped adobe houses with the dark outlines of their doors and windows clung to both sides of the strip of road. The helicopters gained height, executed a sharp turn, and began to set down on the concrete slabs of the road that runs through Kashk-e Nokhowd, the center of Maywand County.

...I had been advised to go to Maywand by Mullah Gulyam Muhammad Fakeri, chairman of the Qandahar Province National Reconciliation Commission. "We must today go to every Afghan village, house, and family," he said with conviction. "All disputes between compatriots must be resolved by the force of words, not by force of arms. Those opposed to peace and an end to the senseless bloodshed are the enemies of Islam. The ringleaders of the counterrevolution convinced people for many years that Kabul had 'betrayed and perverted the ideals of Islam.' But the new Constitution, which I voted for at the Loya Jirgah, proclaimed Islam the 'sacred religion of Afghanistan.' That is the truth, and we must communicate it to every Afghan. Likewise, we must tell them the truth about the real goals of the national reconciliation policy. This is difficult and quite often dangerous, but it is essential work today."

Two of Mullah Fakeri's predecessors were murdered by rebels. For a long time, Qandahar Province was the only one in the country without a single national reconciliation commission. There are now 150 of them: in cities, counties, and districts. In the last 3 months alone, elections to organs of people's power have been held in almost 300 villages. Cease-fire talks are under way with the leaders of 40 armed formations. Takhteh Pol District and Spin Buldak and Maywand Counties have been declared peace zones. [passage omitted]

"There are 40,000 people and 163 villages in Maywand," said Shir Muhammad, the young and energetic chairman of the district executive committee of people's representatives. "Or more precisely, there were 163 until the start of the undeclared war; now 20 of them have been completely destroyed. Just 1 year ago, one-fourth of the territory was controlled by people's power. The situation has radically changed today, which has allowed the county to be declared a peace zone. What are the reasons for such a major breakthrough?! The answer is simple: We have succeeded in explaining to people the aims of the national reconciliation policy."

"The answer is simple, but the path to reconciliation has been very hard and long," Qayum, a gray-bearded mullah, interjected. "People were confused as to who was their friend and who their enemy. Too much blood has flowed, and the fratricidal war has generated too much distrust and hatred. The situation in Maywand began to settle after the signing of a cease-fire protocol between the representatives of people's power and the elders of all the tribes living in the county. Peace jirgahs were held in the villages, and local figures of authority were promoted to posts of responsibility. There are now 30 people on the executive committee. Twelve of them were, until quite recently, fighting against people's power."

"There are no Afghan or Soviet troops in Maywand," said 'Ali Momad, the middle-aged commander of a tribal armed formation. "There are only militia guard posts along the highway. Territory surrounding the county is controlled by the dushmans. They have not abandoned hope of restoring their influence here and have several times tried to attack villages. But on being repulsed, they have scuttled back from whence they came. Several tribal detachments have been set up in Maywand. The biggest is the Jabar battalion. Jabar is sitting here alongside me."

"'Ali Momad is right," 26-year-old Jabar said. "The defense of the county is completely in our hands now. No one has forced the peasants to take up arms or join the tribal detachments. They came of their own accord, aware that it is still necessary, for the time being, to protect the peaceful life from the enemy. There are 300 men in my battalion. The people vary: The oldest, Fazil Raym, is 70, while Dar Khan is 14. They are all from neighboring villages. They do combat and tactical training once a week. We man the security posts around Kashk-e Nokhowd."

"Almost all the men in my village have enrolled in the tribal detachment," peasant Abdul Samad added. "You work in the field with your automatic weapon by your side; anything may happen. Notwithstanding, life is gradually picking up. We have organized a cooperative. We sell the surplus to the state at stable prices and receive fertilizer and agricultural implements in return. We recently received in Maywand 10 tonnes of first-rate seed wheat and 7 tractors from the Soviet Union."

The wheat and tractors that the venerable peasant mentioned were supplied under the direct sponsorship ties existing between the Kazakh SSR's Alma-Ata Oblast and Qandahar Province. The establishing of such ties is becoming an important and very effective form of cooperation between our countries. This was precisely the subject of my discussion with Muhammad Karim Sakhray, chairman of the provincial executive committee of people's representatives, the day before my trip to Maywand.

"Our delegation spent exactly 1 week in Alma-Ata Oblast," Sakhray said. "We met with party and public figures, workers and peasants, schoolchildren and students. Everywhere we heard the same question: 'How are things over there in Afghanistan?' We felt the Soviet people's sincere interest in having peace come to Afghan soil as quickly as possible and their desire to help us in our difficult hour. We returned to Qandahar in the middle of September, and 1 month later we received the first consignment of freight from Kazakhstan.

"We received a telegram today," Sakhray said. "More than 100 tonnes of extra freight for us has arrived in Hayraton. It is essential that all the Soviet aid reaches intact the strata of the population it is intended for. Afghans know their northern neighbor has always been and remains their true and reliable friend. You will be in Maywand; look at how ordinary Afghans treat the Soviet specialists working there." [passage omitted]

Gandhi, En Route to Stockholm, Greets Leaders

LD211424 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] While flying over the territory of the Soviet Union on his way to Stockholm, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sent a telegram to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov highly appraising Soviet-Indian relations as well as the Soviet leadership's efforts to ensure nuclear disarmament. The telegram wishes the friendly Soviet people well-being and prosperity.

East Europe

Soviet-Hungarian Oil Pipeline Bursts 22 Jan

LD221314 Budapest MTI in English 1225 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 22 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Dozens of experts and firemen have been working all day today to locate the fault that caused a leak in the "Friendship II" pipeline in the vicinity of the Hungarian-Soviet border. Oil has been leaking since Wednesday evening from a presumably burst pipe. Experts say there is no imminent threat of an oil shortage, although two out of Hungary's three refineries are temporarily off supply.

The "Friendship II" pipeline's 288-km long Hungarian section, opened in 1972 as part of the 8000-kmlong "Friendship" pipeline system connecting the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR and Hungary, has a capacity of 9 to 10 million metric tons a year and is running from the Soviet-Hungarian border to Szazhalombatta refinery by the Danube.

This pipeline, together with "Friendship I" (built in 1962 and running from Czechoslovakia, is accounting for 98 per cent of Hungarian oil import and almost 80 per cent of oil consumption. At present Hungary consumes—together with the domestic production of about 2 million tons annually—over 10 million tons of oil a year, a third of the total energy consumption. The proportion was the highest in 1975 with 57 per cent.

The first stage of repair should be removal of spilt oil and bulldozing away contaminated soil to make access to the faulty section and permit replacement.

In a Friday radio statement the general manager of the National Oil and Gas Trust said the incident was not disturbing regular operation of the Hungarian power plants as reserves would probably hold out until the leakage is repaired.

Poland's Orzechowski Restates 'Jaruzelski Plan'

PM211151 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish minister of foreign affairs: "Europe Awaits Changes"]

[Text] Warsaw, January—Gone is 1987—a year of, I would say, universal anxiety for the fate of the world, but at the same time also a year of hopes for the long-awaited breakthrough in East-West relations. The visit by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the United States which the whole planet followed intently was the finale of the old year.

In Warsaw we well understood that talks of tremendous significance for mankind as a whole were under way in Washington. W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, pointed out at the PZPR Central Committee plenary session that the Soviet leader "...worthily and successfully represented to the whole world the peaceful interests of mankind and the cause of socialism."

The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit have been shown above all in the fact that the positive trends toward an improvement in the international situation, which had been noticeable for some time, began to take on a real, measurable character. This is mainly the result of the USSR's consistent endeavor to fundamentally restructure the foundations of the international system of security and of the Soviet leadership's creative activeness in the arduous and complex dialogue with Western partners. January 15 saw the second anniversary of the Soviet proposals on the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, which gave the disarmament process qualitatively new scope.

Poland—the USSR's neighbor and ally—greeted the valuable results of the great socialist power's initiatives with particular satisfaction. Every time we can see for ourselves that the resolution of the global problems of our planet through dialogue and cooperation with partners is creating new favorable realities in the world. The USSR-U.S. Treaty On the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles illustrates that the peaceful strategy of socialist countries and their defense alliance—the Warsaw Pact—are bearing fruit.

Today we welcome with particular satisfaction the deepening of partnership and bilateral cooperation in the economic field, politics, and other spheres which accompanies the strengthening of ties of alliance between socialist countries. This coincides with the further development of the mechanisms to coordinate Warsaw Pact states' foreign policy, and with the joint general political line in the international arena. Rapprochement in various spheres, direct ties, and increasingly effective coordination of cooperation stripped of the ballast of unnecessary ritual promote the expansion of cooperation in the international arena. The power and stability of our alliance are manifested not only in the guarantee of the reliable defense of all its elements but also in its disarmament policy and its policy of improving East-West relations.

We also have a bold and at the same time quite realistic concept for restructuring international relations. Its first principle is to stimulate such actions as would promote the transition from the philosophy of confrontation to the philosophy of interdependence and cooperation in resolving the main problems of contemporary civilization. But these problems are associated not only with the arms race and the threat of nuclear destruction but also with the problems of famine in a considerable area of the world, disease, and other calamities which impede mankind's normal development.

We presented our concept of a free world without the threat of nuclear war and our concept of secure, harmonious cooperation in the form of concrete disarmament initiatives in Warsaw Pact documents. Within the United Nations this concept took the form of a proposal on the creation of an all-embracing system of peace and security.

Thus, we can state with complete justification today that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is our joint affair as allies.

The elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will lessen the threat of the outbreak of war which looms over Europe. For us Poles, this is of really tremendous importance because a large proportion of the missiles in question were aimed at our territory. Now we will feel much more secure. All Europe will also feel much more secure. Guarantees for a future world without nuclear weapons have appeared.

The agreement secured in Washington is of great importance for further dialogue and for the disarmament process. In fact it is the first disarmament agreement in history. Nuclear weapons are the most destabilizing element in the armaments arsenal. The NATO concept of preserving peace by means of intimidation which is based on the possible use of such weapons is essentially nothing but a concept of stepping up confrontation.

The treaty will, in my opinion, be important as a graphic example, or, to be more precise, as a "model." It has, as it were, set the standard for the next talks. This especially relates to arms control.

The atmosphere in which the treaty was signed and the informing of the public at large of the course and the results of the talks—a substantial democratization of international relations was expressed in all this. For it precisely this democratization which is dispelling the misgivings which have sometimes been voiced that the agreements by the two great powers may supposedly limit the role of smaller and medium-sized states. Quite the contrary! In the situation whereby the dialogue between the two powers takes into consideration the interests of the entire world public and is producing visible results, the opportunities for action by smaller and medium-sized states are considerably broadened. This also applies to Poland. The democratization of international relations is also having an impact on our cooperation and on our contacts with the world outside and is creating real preconditions for the implementation of our own initiatives.

The next important tasks facing Poland and the community of socialist countries as a whole are now emerging. The urgent need to retain the dynamism of positive processes on a world scale places on us an obligation to promote the development of the new phase of the peace offensive. Warsaw Pact leaders expressed this convincingly at the Berlin meeting.

The paramount task is to expand and deepen the breakthrough on nuclear disarmament questions that has been accomplished already and secure the reduction—initially by half—of strategic weapons, which is designed to play a decisive role for the consolidation of security on a world scale. Poland resolutely supports the USSR stance on this question. Measures designed to limit the arms race in general must accompany efforts in this direction. It is above all a question of the elimination of chemical weapons, a nuclear weapons test ban, and the reduction of Armed Forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

It is true that the European Continent is becoming more secure However, this does not mean that we have already deemed it to be secure. There is a quantity of weapons and troops in Europe which is obviously disproportionate to ensuring the defense of individual countries or groupings.

The consequences of the so-called compensatory measures already under discussion in certain NATO circles cannot be a matter of indifference for the public of our continent. These measures are allegedly to "compensate" the North Atlantic Pact for the imagined "losses" incurred as a result of the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. The "hawks" include in such measures above all the expansion and modernization of the conventional weapons potential and the improvement of the shorter-range [menshey dalnosti] nuclear weapons systems left in Europe.

The key to the solution of the question of European security lies not in such rearmament programs but in dialogue and talks and in the resolution of even the most difficult issues in line with the principle of equal security. The Warsaw Pact states have already submitted their proposals in this sphere. But how have they been received? Our 1986 Budapest Appeal remains unanswered by the NATO states. Poland together with its allies advocates the speediest completion of the meeting of the representatives of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states discussing the mandate for future talks regarding strengthening stability and the reduction of Armed Forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

While conveying to the platform of these talks the concerted opinion of the Warsaw Pact states, Poland also intends to implement its own initiative there. This is the "Jaruzelski Plan," a plan to reduce armaments and build confidence. It is of dual significance—European and subregional. It is of dual significance because while proposing to embrace within it primarily the territories of the states in central Europe, we again stress that its final objective is the extension of the measures suggested to the entire continent. In the opinion of Poland, future all-European solutions do not have the right to ignore the situation in the center of the continent. It is precisely here, in the heart of Europe, at the conjunction of military groupings, that there is the highest saturation of armed forces and armaments, that is, where there is the greatest likelihood of the outbreak of armed conflict.

The "Jaruzelski Plan" proposes multilateral actions serving to ultimately reinforce stabilization and create a joint system of security. It proposes a substantial reduction in armaments in general and, in particular, shorter-range [menshey dalnosti] nuclear weapons hitherto not regulated by any talks. The plan also proposes the evolution of a military doctrine which would be mutually deemed defensive. This plan is comprehensive and envisages a reduction in the level of military confrontation while at the same time creating the atmosphere of trust which is so necessary for strengthening security and developing cooperation.

Our concept has been met with great interest throughout the world. But this was not only the effect of its innovatory character but also of the clearly expressed desire to take into consideration the security interests of all the inhabitants in the "European home" and of the support offered to the "Jaruzelski Plan" by other socialist countries.

The current reaction to this plan gives us grounds for affirming that we have presented it at the right moment. Its content matches up to the public's expectations and is of interest for all those who really hold dear the desire to strengthen European security. We see in the implementation of the "Jaruzelski Plan" great opportunities for making our contribution to the tasks of strengthening peace and security facing the whole socialist community. We derive satisfaction from our participation in the creation of a vast universal cause—a fellowship of world security, whose components are disarmament, dialogue, and broad cooperation.

The new thinking in foreign policy, which received concrete expression at the Washington meeting, is also a reflection of the profound changes under way in the USSR, Poland, and other socialist countries. All the changes are an objective need for the steadfast development of the socialist structure. The successes of restructuring and renewal in our countries will unfailingly strengthen our desire to create a secure, peaceful future for mankind.

Murakhovskiy, CSSR's Toman Discuss Agro-Industry
PM221210 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 20 January V.S. Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and USSR Gosagroprom chairman, received M. Toman, CSSR minister of agriculture and food.

During the conversation, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, there was an exchange of opinions on the course of cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of agriculture and the food sectors of industry, and specific questions of deepening and widening economic, scientific, and technical ties in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex were discussed.

CPCZ Organizations Prepare for Annual Meetings
PM211003 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p5

[Own correspondent S. Vtorushin dispatch under the rubric "Socialist Countries: Fraternal Party Life": "Annual Meetings"]

[Text] Prague, 19 Jan—Preparations for the annual meetings and conferences planned for February and March are coming to a close in CPCZ organizations. They will continue the tradition of discussing the most important issues concerning life in labor collectives and the work of party organizations and the party as a whole.

The meetings and conferences are being given special attention. They will be held in the wake of the CPCZ Central Committee December (1987) Plenum which approved very important documents on restructuring national economic management, deepening socialist democracy, and enhancing the militancy of party organizations and the motivation of every Communist.

The Czechoslovak press has broadly discussed the draft laws on the socialist enterprise and agricultural, production, and housing cooperatives. In the course of the discussion working people have submitted more than 130,000 observations and proposals, which will be considered when drawing up the definitive texts of the laws.

Last year a number of enterprises began an economic experiment to verify the effectiveness of the new economic management methods. Now the number of labor collectives working in the conditions of the experiment is considerably larger. Party organizations will analyze the initial results of the experiment and take measures to eliminate shortcomings. Many articles now appearing in the press urge an intolerant attitude to lack of discipline and poor, sloppy work. Communists believe strengthening discipline and order is an important part of restructuring.

The annual meetings and conferences will also devote particular attention to cadre training and cadre ability to work in the new conditions. Those who approach the fulfillment of their regular tasks boldly and with a great sense of political responsibility will receive all-around support. An important feature of cadre policy today is the need to more boldly promote nonparty people and representatives of other parties to responsible positions as well as Communists. Leading posts must be held by capable, honest, selfless people loyal to socialism.

West Europe

Swedish Submarine Story Recalls Loch Ness Tale

PM201515 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 10 Jan 88 p 5

[Spartak Beglov article: "Elusive 'Nessy' off the Shores of Sweden"]

[Text] The "submarine alarm" again sounded the other day in Stockholm. From the report of the commander-in-chief of the Swedish Armed Forces it follows that in the first half of 1987 the territorial waters of that country were repeatedly violated by foreign submarines. Quite a few such reports have appeared in recent years, invariably confirmed by the country's higher military authorities. Each time, as if by a command, the Swedish press carried items fingering the Soviet Union, although the Soviet side, through diplomatic channels and at a higher level, flatly refuted these inventions. The USSR has never engaged in any military or other illicit activity in Swedish waters.

The above-mentioned report again does not contain any proof that intruder-submarines belonged to our country. But someone is eager to perceive what in reality does not exist. This desire arises every time some positive changes take shape in Soviet-Swedish relations or in the international arena. All this reminds me of the mystery of the monster called Nessy. The only difference is that the "submarine mystery" is not so innocent.

Official statements from Stockholm emphasize that all anti-submarine means, right up to sinking, will be used against violators of Swedish territorial waters, if they are spotted. If this is in line with Swedish law, apparently, one must act according to the law.

The Swedish military command has repeatedly made it clear that it highly appreciates the competence of its personnel and continuously equips them with more perfect means for detecting and hitting submarines. People in Sweden want to know: Isn't it high time to justify the expenses and produce a result? This question, if one is not a diplomat, interests not only Swedes. Before the verdict is passed, the time is gone and military corporations get ever new profitable orders and the outbreaks of anti-Soviet hysteria continue to regularly occur in Sweden. It is as if someone wishes very much that it remains always this way.

Danish Minister's Rejection of Proposals Viewed

LD212034 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—TASS News Analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

In an interview to the REUTERS Danish Defence Minister Bernt Johan Collet rejected the Soviet Union's proposals for the lowering of military tension in the north of Europe. He alleged that this would "damage the North Atlantic bloc".

Such pronouncements are strange, to say the least. The Danish minister, apparently, tries to emulate former U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger who was inclined to usurp the prerogatives of the Department of State and to impose such solutions of foreign policy matters as would suit Pentagon strategists.

What is it that the Danish minister disliked about the Soviet Union's Murmansk initiatives for a radical lowering of the level of military confrontation in the north? He disliked most of all the fact that "these proposals are aimed at the creation of a nuclear weapons free zone in the region". He holds that "this strategy of the Soviet Union is aimed at splitting NATO". "We are strongly against", he said.

It can hardly be surmised that the head of Denmark's military department is uninformed of the essense of the Soviet proposals and is unaware of the Soviet Union's readiness to embark on the talks about restriction and reduction of military activity in the north as a whole, both in the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres. He addresses himself again to the problem of the Kola Peninsula and the "activity" of the Soviet fleet in the Barents Sea.

It would seem that one can get the meaning of the Soviet initiative if they are analysed with due attention. For the Soviet Union advanced a many-faceted action program to overcome confrontation and distrust and replace them with broad international cooperation. The Soviet Union proposed to start consultations between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO on the reduction of the military activity and restriction of the activity of naval and air forces in the areas of the Baltic, North, Norwegian and Greenland Seas, spreading confidence building measures also to the Barents Sea, in discussing problems of creating a nuclear-free zone.

The Soviet Union expressed the readiness to take into consideration possible measures applicable to the Soviet territory. For instance, the Soviet Union has already dismantled unilaterally launchers of intermediate-range missiles in the Kola Peninsula and a large part of such units in the remaining territory in the Leningrad and Baltic military districts. The Soviet Union is also prepared to remove submarines armed with ballistic missiles from the composition of the Soviet Baltic Fleet. The Danish minister, apparently, overlooked the Soviet proposal to invite observers from northern countries, that is also from Denmark, to one of the USSR naval exercises in 1988.

While rejecting Soviet initiatives, the Danish minister saw the need to make a reservation that "in the main he is for disarmament". But is this so? Isn't he echoing the Pentagon which does not accept the very idea of the creation of nuclear-weapons free zones and continues to build up its military activity in the region. And according to press reports, this is precisely the area where the Pentagon intends to deploy its cruise missiles for the participation in operations in the northerly direction in the framework of the United States "Arctic strategy" as a compensation for the coming elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

In whose interests will the Pentagon's actions be? Hardly in the interests of the peoples of northern Europe as the absolute majority of people in Denamrk, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland declare for the easing of tension, for a nuclear weapons-free north, for broad cooperation of all concerned countries in the region.

Thatcher's 'Bellicose Voice' on Disarmament Noted

PM201101 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 88 First Edition p 3

[A. Bogomolov "Rejoinder": "Three Times 'No;' About M. Thatcher's Speech"]

[Text] In recent decades the persistent labor of some of our cartoonists, and indeed of others, has developed a specific stereotype in our understanding of an intricate complex such as relations between Western Europe and the United States. Usually these relations are depicted as follows: Uncle Sam with his goatee beard is trying forcibly to foist his military or economic "gifts" on a kindly European who has no desire to take them. Depending on his nationality, this latter figure is portrayed in a beret, dressed in a tartan, or in a Tyrolean hat.

The truth that very diverse trends exist among European politicians has somehow grown dim in the shadow of this stereotype.

A bellicose voice issued recently from the British capital, where British Prime Minister M. Thatcher delivered a speech. Having briefly noted that "in the past 12 months, some extremely important progress has been achieved in improving relations between East and West," Thatcher called for vigilance and consolidation of military cooperation within the NATO framework. "We must not weaken at a critically important moment;" "we are entering 1988 fully aware of the kind of system we are negotiating with...."

In this speech Thatcher did not go into the details of how she sees the future. She merely commented positively on military cooperation between France and West Germany, and France and Britain. Yet it is well known that creating joint French-West German military formations in no way serves to consolidate European trust and security. As for British-French military contacts, according to THE SUNDAY TIMES they attest to "new mutual relations aimed at strengthening West European nuclear might."

Thatcher recently spoke in greater detail about her position on a nuclear-free Europe in a talk with U.S. Senator J. Biden. According to THE GUARDIAN, the "Iron Lady" warned the senator that she would no longer accept "zero options" and would reject any idea of destroying all strategic armaments or battlefield nuclear weapons....

Three "no's," and this is obviously still not the limit. It is not ruled out that in the near future the matter of further reducing nuclear armaments will encounter mounting resistance from West European conservatives. Is there any logic here? Is it possible on the one hand to welcome the successes of disarmament and to express hopes for further progress in this field, and on the other, to do everything to impede the favorable trend that has emerged?

On this count, Thatcher cites what seems to her to be the wise advice of Lord Salisbury: "The main thing is not the justice of the cause for which you are struggling but its reliable defense."

So justice is not the main thing?

Gorbachev Visit to Spain in 1988 'Very Likely'
AU211240 Paris AFP in English 1153 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Madrid, Jan 21 (AFP)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has hailed "Spain's increasing prestige in international affairs" in a letter to Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, officials said here Thursday.

The letter was handed over to Mr. Gonzalez by visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Wednesday, they said.

Mr. Gorbachev was "very likely" to visit Spain during this year's second half, Soviet sources here said, adding that the exact date depended on the fourth superpower summit tentatively scheduled for May or June in Moscow.

Mr. Shevardnadze, who arrived here late Tuesday for a three-day official visit had talks with his Spanish counterpart Francisco Fernandez Ordonez and Mr. Gonzalez on Wednesday focussing on nuclear, conventional and chemical disarmament. Also discussed were East-West relations, the situation in the Middle East and Afghanistan, informed sources said.

But analysts said Mr. Shevardnadze also made a clear effort to present Mr. Gorbachev's interior reforms of glasnost (openness) and perestroyka (restructuring) and enhance the Soviet Union's image. [passage omitted]

CPSU's Pavlov Leaves for Spanish Party Congress
LD211614 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—A CPSU delegation headed by Vladimir Pavlov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, left for Madrid today at the invitation of the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers's Party to take part in the work of the 31st Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party.

U.S. To Withdraw F-16's From Spain
LD192346 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 88

[V. Gorkayev report over video; Gorkayev identified by caption; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The recently ended Spanish-U.S. talks resulted in Spain obtaining agreement from the United States to withdraw from the country 72 F-16 fighter-bombers. Within 3 years ,the last of these planes must leave Spain. At the same time, U.S. military personnel in the country will be cut by about half. The Spanish Government can note with satisfaction that it has fulfilled its promise to obtain a substantial cut in the U.S. military presence. The achievement of the agreement is without doubt a major success for Spanish diplomacy, all the more so in that it was achieved in difficult conditions. The talks were conducted for 18 months, with constant pressure on Spain from the United States and other NATO countries. The agreement without doubt strengthens the international authority of the country and puts its bilateral military relations with the United States on an equal basis.

Where will these planes be in 3 years time? For the moment, it is difficult to say, but as the Spanish press writes, it is not excluded that they will be in a more favorable strategic position than at present. U.S. transport planes will continue to use the Torrejon base near Madrid, where the F-16's are now based. In the event of a crisis—and this concept still has to be precisely defined—the United States will be granted the right to transfer its modern B-1 bombers to Torrejon.

Thus, as you see, overall U.S. strategy has hardly suffered from the cutting of the U.S. military presence in Spain. The only thing that worried and continues to worry the United States is that the Spanish example might turn out to be infectious for other countries where there are U.S. military bases. However, it is an example from which the cause of peace comes out well.

Vernikov Commentary
PM211109 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Vernikov "International Commentary": "U.S. F-16's Will Leave Spain"]

[Text] Madrid—The news published simultaneously in Madrid and Washington Friday could certainly be termed long-awaited. Spanish Foreign Minister F. Fernandez Ordonez announced at a hastily convened press conference a declaration adopted jointly with the United States. In the document both countries' governments stated the achievement of an accord in principle to sign a new treaty on military cooperation to replace the 1982 agreement.

In practice this means that the U.S. Government has removed the main obstacle to this—it has met Spain's demand for the withdrawal from its territory of the 72 F-16 aircraft sited at the U.S. Torrejon de Ardoz military base near Madrid and also of its tanker aircraft from the Zaragoza base.

In fact one of the declaration's five points says unequivocally that "in accordance with the Spanish Government's sovereign decision, the United States will withdraw from Spain the 401st F-16 fighter-bomber formation within 3 years of the date of the new agreement's entry into force." That date, let us recall, is this coming May; the new treaty, as Spanish official spokesmen have frequently stated, will reflect the "new philosophy of cooperation embodied above all in Spain's membership in NATO, where it will make a definite contribution to Western defense." Let us also mention that the consent wrested from the United States to reduce its military presence in Spain illustrates the fulfillment by F. Gonzalez' government of a promise made to the electorate during a referendum on the country's continued membership in NATO and also a major success for all antiwar and peace-loving forces acting under the "Bases out!" slogan.

At the same time the declaration states that, in accordance with the new agreement, the United States will continue to use its installations in Spain (the remaining bases and communications systems) and also in Spanish territory, in the event of crises, or war, in support of plans for reinforcing NATO forces. True, it has been stipulated that this will not occur automatically but with the assent of the Spanish Government in each specific case.

The initial term of the new treaty, whose elaboration the sides will discuss at the next round of talks at the beginning of February, is 8 years, but it will be extended annually.

Thus 18 long months of persistent haggling over the problem of reducing the U.S. military presence in Spain are over. Leaders of the various parties on the whole reacted positively toward the achieved result—but with many reservations on extremely essential details, which will possibly still undergo some changes during the practical work to prepare the text of the new treaty. Nor should it be forgotten that the Cortes will have to have its say in the course of the treaty's ratification this May. This means that a keen struggle inside parliament over provisions that are already provoking questions is not excluded.

Naturally, main attention here is being devoted to this piece of news. The newspapers note that this step by the Spanish Government, which has been able to stand up for its position despite pressure from its bloc partners and the opinion of many people who considered the obstacles insuperable, is reinforcing Spain's prestige in the international arena. The newspapers cite the words of Spanish official spokesmen who have called the agreement "historic." The press also cites the first transoceanic reaction—the "disappointment, internal dissent, and resentment" reigning there.

"It is quite obvious," EL PAIS writes in an editorial, "that the topic of the U.S. bases is primarily political and that the main concern in the United States is the possible repercussions of the events in Spain on such countries as Greece, Turkey, and the Philippines.

Possible Relocation of F-16's to Italy Noted

PM211607 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Pershin dispatch: "Italy: Where Will the F-16's Land?"]

[Text] Rome—As has already been announced, yielding to Spanish Government demands, Washington has been forced into a decision to withdraw from that country's territory 72 nuclear-capable F-16 fighter-bombers, located at the U.S. Torrejon air base near Madrid.

Commenting on this fact, the Italian mass media indicate that this is the greatest U.S. defeat in Europe, in a political context, since De Gaulle managed to secure the withdrawal of U.S. troops from France. At the same time, the question is being asked: Where will the F-16's to which both the United States and the NATO leadership "attach great importance with regard to ensuring the security of the bloc's southern front" be transferred?

If you follow this logic, the newspapers point out that the option of redeploying the aircraft to another south European NATO country is quite possible. Taking into consideration the difficulties the United States is experiencing in its relations with Greece and Turkey, Italy cannot be ruled out as a possibility. Incidentally, some of the nuclear armaments earmarked for the F-16's are stockpiled there.

As yet there has been no official confirmation of this. In an interview with an Italian agency, a diplomatic staffer in the prime minister's office, who wished to remain anonymous, refuted reports circulating to the effect that an accord has been secured between Washington and Rome on siting the F-16's in the Apennines; this decision, according to him, must be taken within the NATO framework. However, the influential CORRIERE DELLA SERA writes that reports now coming from the United States indicate the reverse: U.S. Administration spokesmen affirm that this question was explored on a bilateral level and that Italy has in principle agreed to take the new fighter-bombers.

As for possible F-16 deployment sites in Italy, the press indicates two: Aviano, the largest U.S. air base in West Europe, in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region in the northeast of the country, and Comiso, currently the location of the U.S. cruise missiles to be withdrawn from there in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

One recalls that Italian Defense Minister V. Zanone, speaking on television following the signing of this document, indicated that Comiso was unlikely to be transformed into a civilian facility, as demanded by many of the country's political and public organizations. Too much money has been invested in it by the United States for them to simply abandon its use. Who knows whether the minister had in mind then the possibility of replacing one nuclear carrier here with another?

UK Paper Cited on Move

LD171834 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] London January 17 TASS—TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov reports:

The United States is planning to deploy 72 F-16 fighter planes in Sicily, Italy, THE SUNDAY TIMES reported today with reference to U.S. officials. They maintain that the Italian Government agreed 'in principle' to accept the planes which, under the American-Spanish agreement concluded last Friday, should be removed in the course of three years from the U.S. air base in Torrejon de Ardoz near Madrid.

It is planned to deploy F-16 fighter planes capable of carrying nuclear weapons at the Comiso air base, THE SUNDAY TIMES reported. For the air base to be able to handle them, a runway will have to be extended and other structures of the base will have to be modernized, which will cost about one billion dollars.

The removal of the planes from Spain is the first case since the withdrawal of France from the NATO military organization when the U.S. is forced to pull out its troops from a European NATO member state. However, the newspaper pointed out, under the agreement concluded in Madrid, the Pentagon will be able to use the Torrejon de Ardoz base in an 'emergency' situation. Two U.S. air bases and a major U.S. naval base are still situated in Spain.

And still, it took Washington much effort to find a new place for the deployment of F-16's in NATO's southern flank. Portugal refused point-blank to accept them. Greece was not even considered as a possible area of deployment of the planes because the Papandreou government is threatening to close down U.S. military bases situated in Greece, the newspaper wrote.

Discontent over the present of U.S. military bases makes itself manifest the world over and the "Yankees go home" demand is stronger today than any time since the 60s, the REUTER news agency pointed.

France's Chirac Comments on European Defense

LD200034 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2145 GMT 19 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Korshonov]

[Text] French Prime Minister Chirac again has spoken in favor of the idea of expanding joint military action by West European countries.

A reception was held in Paris in honor of participants in the conference of the so-called Committee in Support of European Construction. Speaking at the reception, Chirac said that plans to create a French-West German defense council and formation of joint military units open the way toward elaboration of a joint strategy for the two countries. In Chirac's words, the process of strengthening French-West German military links is irreversible in character. Chirac affirmed that this process must lead to the expansion of military cooperation between Paris and other West European countries. Moreover, the head of government directly said that he had Great Britain in mind. This is a very noteworthy statement, since Bonn and London are two of the most devoted allies of the United States and, as a rule, support the military doctrines and ideas of Washington, including plans to create space weapons within SDI. Now, as we see, Chirac is stressing openly that France will do everything to promote the trend toward a rapprochement between the French and NATO strategies. In my opinion, in the future this will nullify Paris' efforts to convince others of the independence of its defense, and in the last analysis, its foreign policy, and allegedly fully independent nature of French nuclear weapons.

French Officials Confer on Disarmament Topics

PM211135 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Consultations Held"]

[Text] Soviet-French political consultations were held in Moscow 18-19 January, during which a broad range of disarmament issues were discussed, notably a chemical weapons ban and the future development of the process of security and cooperation in light of the work of the Vienna all-European meeting. The consultations were conducted on the French side by J. Blot, director of the French Foreign Ministry European Department, and B. D'Aboville, deputy director of the political department; and on the Soviet side by V.P. Karpov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Administration for Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament; Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting; and Yu.S. Deryabin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Department for Questions of Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The French representatives were received by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister. Y. Pagniez, French ambassador in the USSR, took part in the conversation, which took place in a friendly, frank atmosphere.

Franco-Soviet Trade Commission Meets in Moscow

LD201335 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Trade and economic relations between the USSR and France have shown some progress, but it has not been sufficient yet, the Soviet minister for external economic relations, Konstantin Katushev, said.

He is leading the Soviet delegation to the 22nd session of the Soviet-French standing commission on cooperation in scientific, technological and economic fields.

The French delegation is being led by Michel Noir, minister-delegate for foreign trade under the French minister of state for economics, finances and privatization.

The "grand" commission will examine the state of and prospects for developing bilateral trade and scientific and technological cooperation, review the progress of implementation of agreements between the two countries on cooperation in the nuclear power industry and space, and discuss the results of work done by the Franco-Soviet chamber of commerce last year.

Murakhovskiy Receives Noir

LD210226 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2232 GMT 20 Jan 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 20 January, Comrade Murakhovskiy received Noir, minister-delegate in charge of foreign trade of France, who is heading the French delegation at the 22d session of the permanently operating mixed Soviet-French commission. A conversation took place on matters of trade and economic and industrial ties and the prospects for their further improvement and development.

Business Protocol Signed

LD212257 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] A permanent Soviet-French commission on economic and scientific and technical cooperation has concluded another meeting in Moscow. A joint protocol signed in the course of the meeting takes note of the successful development of two way relations in the peaceful uses of nuclear power, (?in space installations) and the chemical industry and medicine. The document also outlines feasible ways of dealing with problems blocking further progress of business relations. The first agreement has been signed on setting up joint business ventures.

Commission Session Ends

LD220825 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—A number of new and major contracts were signed with French firms in 1987 to buy equipment for factories being built or modernized in the USSR. With a nearly two-fold increase in French equipment deliveries to this country, and Soviet sales of machines and plant to France grew perceptibly as well. [sentence as received]

These and other positive results of Soviet-French commercial, economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation were stressed during the 22nd session of the Soviet-French "grand" commission, which has ended in Moscow.

Note was taken at the same time of a certain fall-off in bilateral trade, largely explained by the decline in the world prices of energy carriers.

The participants in the meeting expressed readiness to buck the negative trend and outlined a package of practical measures towards this end.

It was reported at a plenary sitting, for example, that Soviet foreign trade organizations and French companies are negotiating such major deals as contracts to deliver gas treatment installations for the Tengis deposit in Kazakhstan, equipment to produce catalysts, flight simulators for civil aviation, and other projects estimated at one billion roubles.

The commission took a careful look at the possibilities of using new forms of economic cooperation, which offer broad opportunities for developing business ties.

The Soviet delegation to the session was led by Konstantin Katushev, minister for external economic relations. The French one was led by Michel Noir, minister delegate attached to the minister for foreign trade.

They signed a protocol on the results of the session, expressing satisfaction with the progress of fulfillment of cooperation agreements in the nuclear power industry, space exploration and color television.

Agreement was reached to work out an agreement on mutual protection against capital investments and on stepping up cooperation in specialist training.

The commission is to hold its next session in Paris in 1989.

Trade Bank Issues First International Bonds

LD182346 Hamburg DPA in German 1641 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Duesseldorf (DPA/VWD)—The 100 million Swiss franc bond issue on the Swiss capital market (via the Bank Fuer Kredit und Aussenhandel AG, the Zurich subsidiary of the Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale) by the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank is in no way unusual but rather a first step taken in the international bond market. It is intended to gain experience, said Viktor Gerashchenko, first deputy chairman of the Foreign Trade Bank of the USSR, at the signing at the WestLB in Duesseldorf today of the documents for this first bond issue by the Foreign Trade Bank.

He said the bank's aim was to become an equal partner on the capital market. Should the market react positively to this first step, Gerashchenko said, he would not rule out the bank taking "further steps in this direction" this year. He said the Foreign Trade Bank would take on new functions better suited to the climate of economic reform and perestroyka. It would also function as a source of credit for those foreign companies that wanted to participate in joint ventures with Soviet firms.

West German Firm To Cooperate in Space Program

LD212222 Moscow TASS in English 2144 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Munich January 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy reports:

The Kayser Threde firm is situated on the outskirts of Munich. It is known to be the first company in the FRG to conclude an agreement on cooperation in the exploration of outer space with the Soviet foreign trade association Litsenzintorg. Under the agreement, specifically, the Kayser Threde will conduct three experiments on board the Soviet spacecraft Foton in the period from 1989 to 1992.

Spokeswoman of the firm Siegrid Klett told the TASS correspondent that in conditions of certain stagnation in the United States programs of space research the agreement with the USSR is of very much importance for the firm. The reliability of Soviet space equipment is widely known in the world.

Outer space should undoubtedly be used in peaceful purposes, she went on to say. She said that this is of the greatest importance for the firm and all its employees. The extreme conditions of outer space are best suited for testing electronic instruments which can later be used successffully for resolving vital problems. One of the promising developments of the firm is a laser instrument to measure the level of environmental pollution. It could be tested on board a Soviet station.

The overall atmosphere of relations between the two countries is of much importance for the development of ties between the FRG and the USSR. Also in space exploration. The tendency for their improvement is manifested now. Outer space is an unlimited area of Soviet-West German cooperation, Siegrid Klett said in conclusion.

U.S.-Greek Base Negotiations 'Protracted'

LD121817 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Athens January 12 TASS—Greek-American negotiations on the future of the U.S. military bases in Greece, which began on Monday, continued in Athens today. Nothing is reported specifically about the content of the discussions. But there is every indication that the negotiations are acquiring an even more protracted character. The sides agreed to hold the next rounds of the negotiations in February, March and April this year, said the government's official representative Yannis Roubatis.

The Greek-American agreement under which the Pentagon uses four big bases and about 20 smaller military structures on the Greek territory is due to expire on December 31 this year. The treaty was signed in 1983 for a period of five years and then the Government of Greece promised to close down the bases upon its expiration.

Briefs

Youth Meeting in Portugal

Lisbon, 20 Jan (TASS)—The second Soviet-Portuguese youth meeting opened here on Tuesday under the banner "Friendship, Cooperation, Solidarity." A Soviet delegation led by Valentin Denisov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, is in Lisbon to take part in it. [Excerpt] [*Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0120 GMT 20 Jan 88 LD*]

Political & Social

Ligachev on Education Sector Construction

PM211217 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Improve the Practice of Building Public Education Projects. Conference at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference has been held at the CPSU Central Committee—in connection with the forthcoming Central Committee plenum on the restructuring of secondary and higher education—which discussed the issues of building higher education, vocational and technical education projects. The following people took part: Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; secretaries and chiefs of departments in the union-republic Communist Party central committees and a number of party kraykoms and obkoms; heads of central ministries and departments; deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers and ministers of higher and secondary specialized education of the union republics; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the Committee of People's Control, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee; and leading figures in the mass media.

The following took part in the discussion of the present state of building: Yu.A. Belyakov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.N. Lobko, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; O.I. Lobov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; A.S. Tumanov, secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom; Ye.F. Bashmakov, first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; G.A. Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education; A.A. Babenko, USSR minister of construction in the eastern regions; L.A. Kanishchenko, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education; and L.A. Bibin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy and USSR minister. They drew attention to the weak material and technical base of many higher educational establishments and vocational and technical schools, the serious lag in the implementation of plans for the capital construction of these projects, and the fact that a number of ministries and departments pay insufficient attention to this important area of work. They proposed specific measures to improve the state of affairs.

The conference was addressed by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He stressed that it is impossible to begin training specialists and worker cadres of a qualitatively new standard without strengthening the material and technical base of educational establishments. Without solving this task it will be impossible to really accelerate the country's socioeconomic development. The key to the success of the restructuring policy lies in the restructuring of schools.

The results of the last 3 years show that the country is moving in the direction of strengthening the material and technical base of the sociocultural sphere. However, higher schools have been least affected by this healthy process. Laboratory and training facilities in the average VUZ fall considerably short of the norm and there is an acute shortage of public catering enterprises and student hostels. At the same time the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, construction ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and local party and soviet organs are failing to ensure the fulfillment of plans for the assimilation of resources and the commissioning of the relevant projects and have not secured a radical improvement in the state of affairs at higher and vocational and technical education construction projects. The heads of many construction organizations are still treating these projects as if they were of secondary importance. The most alarming situation with the construction of higher school projects has taken shape in the Central Asian republics. VUZ construction sites in Moscow, Leningrad, Vladivostok, Tyumen, Rostov-na-Donu, Krasnoyarsk, and Kazan are seriously behind schedule.

The speech assessed as unsatisfactory the work of a number of ministries responsible for developing the training materials base of vocational and technical schools. The USSR Ministries of Power and Electrification, of Nonferrous Metallurgy, of Installation and Special Construction Work, and of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR fell very considerably behind last year. It was also pointed out that the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and vocational and technical education organs at local level are not showing the necessary initiative and persistence when implementing construction plans, and turn a blind eye when contract organizations adopt the wrong attitude toward the erection of these projects.

Numerous examples of poor-quality construction work were cited, and the impermissibility of the still-prevalent practice of handing over incomplete vocational, technical, higher and secondary specialized education projects was pointed out. Much attention was devoted to questions of providing housing for the employees of educational establishments, particularly in the Urals, Siberia, and Far East regions, where this problem is most acute. It was emphasized that the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosstroy, and ministries and departments under contract have still to alter their attitude toward higher and vocational school projects and treat them as a priority area of construction.

The union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms were instructed to consider the question of developing the material and technical base of every VUZ, technical school, and vocational and technical school in the period through the year 2000 from the standpoint of the new requirements, to organize an effective system of verifying implementation of capital construction plans, and to make greater demands on the heads of contract organizations in terms of complying with the technology of the entire construction process, ensuring the high quality of construction and installation work, and commissioning higher and secondary school projects on schedule.

Ye.K. Ligachev and other conference participants visited an exhibition of new designs for school, vocational and technical school, and VUZ buildings organized at the Central House of Architects. Attention was drawn to the need to analyze current normatives for the construction of public education projects and bring them into line with the present demands of the training and education process. Those present expressed the wish to involve the best architects and designers in the planning of VUZ's, schools, and vocational and technical schools and to adopt more broadly the competitive approach to the organization of this kind of work. The new educational establishments must be an adornment for our cities.

Party, Government Ecological Resolution Issued

PM211501 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have adopted the resolution "On the Radical Restructuring of Environmental Protection in the Country."

The resolution notes that some fundamentally important party and government decisions to improve the ecological situation in many industrial centers and regions of the country have been made since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, with increased social activeness and interest by all sections of the population in improving the state of the environment and in the rational utilization and reproduction of natural resources. There has been nationwide support for the concrete measures which are to be implemented in the current 5-year plan period to protect the basins of Lake Ladoga and Lake Baykal from pollution, for the resolutions on ending the diverting the flow of rivers of the north and Siberia and on protecting unique natural and cultural monuments.

However, there have been serious shortcomings in the environmental protection work of USSR ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and soviet and economic organs. They have failed to ensure a comprehensive approach to solving questions of environmental protection and rational use of natural resources. The development of production forces in various parts of the country is being carried out without due regard for the environmental consequences and without an integrated environmental protection policy.

In view of the extreme lack of coordination of environmental protection functions in various ministries and departments, the system of controlling the use of nature which has taken shape does not meet modern economic management requirements and is a serious factor retarding the intensification of production in conditions of increasing interdependence between the state of the environment and economic development.

Economic management methods have been underestimated in environmental protection work. The lack of effective economic levers and incentives has meant that enterprises and organizations have no interest in ensuring the comprehensive and rational use of the natural resources placed at their disposal or in reducing environmental pollution.

It is a major shortcoming that the work being done to improve the use of nature is not firmly based on the achievements of scientific and technical progress. The introduction of low-waste and waste-free manufacturing processes and mixed production units which ensure the full and comprehensive use of natural resources, raw and other materials is extremely inadequate. The majority of academic and sectorial scientific research, planning and design organizations have essentially remained aloof from this important state work.

The irresponsible attitude of some USSR ministries and departments to questions of the use of natural resources has led to a sharp deterioration in the state of the environment in some regions of the country. Many levels of sectorial management are dominated by narrow departmentalism and a subjective approach to economic decisionmaking. The erroneous "residual" principle of allocating material and financial resources for the implementation of urgent environmental protection tasks continues to be used. As a result of poor executive discipline the implementation of a number of party and government decisions on environmental protection measures has been tardy and incomplete.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local soviets have been extremely slow to restructure their environmental protection activity. A determined struggle is not being waged against violations of the environmental protection law and the rights and powers granted for that purpose are not being fully used.

Union republic Communist Party central committees, party kraykoms and obkoms, and primary party organizations have not shown due exactingness toward the leaders of ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises who have failed to show concern for protecting the country's natural assets. Party, soviet, and economic organs, the mass media, and public organizations are not paying due attention to people's environmental education and training or to raising the environmental standards of all sections of the population as one of the most important conditions for improving environmental protection work.

The resolution defines the main tasks in the sphere of environmental protection, the rational use of natural resources and the main directions of environmental protection work at the present stage. All party, state, and soviet organs, associations and enterprises, public organizations, and labor collectives have been set the task of persistently and consistently pursuing the party line of preserving and augmenting natural resources and improving the state of the environment on the basis that it is vitally necessary to resolve these questions not only for the benefit of the Soviet people but also for all mankind.

It is stressed that environmental protection questions are of great social significance and that there must be no political or organizational sluggishness or lack of initiative by organs of state management, enterprises, organizations, and institutions when it comes to tackling those questions. The struggle for environmental safety in the world must be regarded as one of the most crucial and noble tasks facing Soviet people.

The USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Gossnab and other central economic organs are instructed when elaborating the concept and Basic Guidelines for the USSR's economic and social development, draft state plans, and long-term national economic programs, to provide for the most important directions of environmental protection activity linked to the planned scale of the development of production forces, the introduction in the national economy of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and also to include effective measures to prevent a deterioration in the quality of the natural environment and the irrational use of natural resources. With these aims in mind they are to submit to USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers the corresponding indicators incorporated in the control figures, state orders, and long-term economic normatives and quotas on the basis of the targets and provisions of the long-term state program for the protection of the environment and the rational use of the USSR's natural resources for the 13th 5-Year Plan period and for the period through 2005, currently being drawn up.

When exercising their assigned functions of planning the development of the economic and social sphere, accelerating scientific and technical progress, improving the technical standard and quality of output and capital construction, the permanent organs of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR ministries and departments are to ensure that economic activity is strictly linked to ecological requirements so as to ensure that any decision taken will take account of society's long-term interests in preserving and improving the natural environment and will be aimed at creating favorable conditions for Soviet people's labor, lives, and everyday activities. When elaborating long-term plans and fields for the development of sectors, schemes for the siting of enterprises, national economic plans and their implementation, it is necessary to provide for the priority development of integrated industrial and agricultural production facilities based on low-waste and waste-free manufacturing processes.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms are to step up the coordination of the activity of all enterprises and organizations in the environmental protection sphere and the use of natural resources based on the full responsibility for the environment borne by republic and local administrative organs in the regions in question.

Association and enterprise leaders and labor collective councils are instructed to strictly prevent all violations of the environmental protection law by members of labor collectives. It is stressed that the state of nature, people's well-being and health, and the implementation of the tasks put forward by the party in the efficient use and reproduction of natural resources and the protection of the environment against pollution depend to a decisive extent on the observance of the environmental protection norms by associations, enterprises, and organizations and their assiduous attitude and state-minded approach to the use of the land and its contents, water resources, flora and fauna.

For the purposes of improving the system of management of the natural environment and regulating the use of natural resources, it is deemed expedient to set up the USSR Union Republic State Committee for Environmental Control (USSR Goskompriroda) based on the appropriate subdivisions of the the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the USSR State Committee for Forestry, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the USSR Ministry of Geology, and other ministries and departments. An integrated system of union republic state committees for environmental protection and organs of those committees at the level of krays, oblasts, autonomous republics and okrugs, rayons, and cities is to be created headed by the USSR Goskompriroda.

The USSR Goskompriroda is to be the central organ of state management in the sphere of environmental protection and the use of natural resources and in addition to union republic councils of ministers bears full responsibility for environmental protection and organizing the rational use and reproduction of natural resources in the country.

The new committee's main tasks are:

The comprehensive management of environmental protection activity in the country, elaboration and conduct of an integrated scientific and technical policy in environmental protection and rational use of natural resources, and coordination of the activity of ministries and departments in this sphere;

The state monitoring of the use and conservation of lands, surface and underground water, air, flora (including forests) and fauna (including fish stocks), the marine habitat and natural resources of the USSR's territorial waters, continental shelf and economic zone, and also minerals;

The preparation and submission to the USSR Gosplan of proposals on questions of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources for inclusion in state 5-year plans, the draft concept and Basic Guidelines for the USSR's economic and social development, and monitoring the fulfillment of the corresponding targets provided in the basic guidelines and state plans;

The preparation of proposals on improving the economic mechanism for the use of natural resources, the approval of environmental norms, rules, and standards regulating the use of natural resources and the protection of the environment from pollution and other harmful influences;

The state ecological expert analysis of general schemes for the development and placement of the country's production forces and national economic sectors, the monitoring of observance of environmental norms during the development of new equipment, technology, materials, and substances as well as plans for the construction (reconstruction) of enterprises and other facilities which affect the state of the environment and natural resources. In so doing, the committee must be guided primarily by the decisive factor of improving environmental protection, such as the broad application in all national economic sectors of low-waste and waste-free techniques and other scientific and technical achievements which ensure the rational use of natural resources;

The issue, in the prescribed manner, of permits for the burial (stockpiling) of industrial, domestic, and other waste products and the release of harmful substances into the environment, specialized water use, and the use of fauna and air for production needs; and the allocation of land for geological prospecting, the approval of planned tree felling and monitoring the allocation of land for all kinds of economic activity;

The management of nature reserves and state monitoring of hunting in the country as well as state registration of fauna and the USSR Red Book [register of endangered species];

The organized dissemination of information about nature among broad sections of the population and of educational work among citizens, particularly young people, to foster a solicitous attitude toward and love of nature;

And the planning and implementation of cooperation on questions of environmental protection with foreign countries and international organizations.

There shall be under the USSR Goskompriroda a public council consisting of scientists, public figures, representatives of local soviets, and leaders of enterprises for ensuring the comprehensive and thorough discussion of major problems of nature use and environmental protection and the elaboration of recommendations to resolve them.

The USSR Goskompriroda, union republic state committees for environmental control, and their local organs are to be granted the necessary powers and, in particular, the right to prohibit the construction, reconstruction, or expansion of industrial and other facilities, work involving the use of natural resources carried out in breach of the environmental protection law, to stop the work of industrial and other enterprises which flagrantly violate the norms and rules of environmental protection, and to institute proceedings against enterprises (associations) as well as citizens to recover money in compensation for damage caused to the state by environmental pollution and the irrational use of natural resources.

It is essential that the organs of the committee's system should examine cases of administrative liability for violations of the law in the environmental protection sphere and the use of natural resources.

Decisions made by the USSR Goskompriroda which fall within its competence are binding on all ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, and organizations.

When elaborating comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of territories, soviet ispolkoms are instructed to include in those plans measures designed to ensure favorable environmental, health, and hygiene conditions for people's normal activity, taking into account here not only local but also state interests relating to the development of the national economy as a whole. They are to provide comprehensive help to environmental protection organs at kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon levels in resolving the tasks entrusted to them, to step up the activity of people's deputies, deputies' groups and posts at enterprises and in organizations on questions of preventing environmental pollution, and to work to ensure the efficient utilization of the financial and material resources allocated for environmental protection measures.

A number of provisions are aimed at improving the economic mechanism which ensures the efficient use and protection of the country's natural resources. It is pointed out that in conditions of the transfer of enterprises to the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing and the broad democratization of social relations there must be a resolute move away from administrative to primarily economic methods of managing environmental protection activity. It is necessary to ensure that the end results of enterprises' work are closely linked with the effectiveness of the environmental protection measures undertaken by them so that each labor collective and working person has an interest in observing the demands of environmental protection legislation.

The long-term economic normatives presented to associations, enterprises, and organizations shall include payment normatives for natural resources as well as for the discharge of pollutants into the environment. It is laid down that the economic normatives for the payment for natural resources should encourage the rational and comprehensive use of land, water, timber, minerals, and other resources and that the economic normatives for payment for the discharge of pollutants into the environment shall include prompt measures to eliminate (prevent) the pollution taking into the account the particular features of the overall natural environment.

For exceeding the permissible discharge (emission) of pollutants into the environment and for accidental pollution, an increased payment (a multiple of the economic normative) will be levied on associations, enterprises, and organizations and will be deducted from the collective's economically accountable income.

It is expedient to set up within the USSR Goskompriroda an environmental protection reserve fund to carry out unforeseen work and based on deductions from the money levied from associations, enterprises, and organizations under the normative payments for the discharge of pollutants into the environment and also on the money recovered from those who violate environmental protection legislation.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms are instructed to channel the money levied from associations, enterprises, and organizations for the pollution of the environment, the irrational use of natural resources, and other violations of environmental protection legislation into the fulfillment of measures to protect the environment and ensure rational use of natural resources.

Instructions have been issued on the extensive introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the environmental protection sphere as the decisive area of improving the exploitation of nature. The main directions of scientific research and experimental design work for resolving environmental protection problems have been defined and it is recommended that the efforts of the collectives of scientific research institutions, higher education establishments, planning, design, technological, and other organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR ministries and departments be focused on carrying that work out.

When planning scientific research in the sphere of creating new manufacturing processes, equipment, and materials, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and USSR ministries and departments are to work on the basis that the use of those processes, materials, and equipment must ensure a high standard of environmental safety in addition to producing a saving for the national economy.

For the purposes of improving the coordination and increasing the efficiency of scientific research and experimental design work in the environmental protection sphere and the use of natural resources it is expedient to create within the USSR Goskompriroda system in Moscow an all-union scientific research and information center on environmental protection problems and the rational use of natural resources, based on scientific institutions and subunits which are to be taken from the jurisdiction of USSR ministries and departments and made directly accountable to this committee.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Goskompriroda, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the USSR Academy of Sciences in conjunction with USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers are to regulate the system of scientific research organizations engaged in the solution of environmental protection problems using the staff thus released and material and financial resources to develop research in the most relevant areas of environmental protection and the use of natural resources.

To prevent machinery and equipment having a harmful effect on the environment during their operation the resolution introduces a system of environmental analysis of the output currently produced by machine building enterprises.

It is planned to carry out measures to increase the effectiveness of the USSR's international cooperation in the environmental protection sphere, working on the premise that the global character of ecological problems requires closer cooperation between the USSR and all foreign countries and international organizations in order to resolve them.

To improve the leadership of the activity of ministries, departments, and organizations on questions of international cooperation in the environmental protection sphere and the use of natural resources, it is necessary to make the USSR Goskompriroda responsible for organizing the Soviet side's fulfillment of its commitments arising from the USSR's international treaties on environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources, for preparing proposals on the formation of an integrated state policy relating to cooperation with foreign countries and international organs in this sphere, for the leadership of work in preparing the relevant international treaties, and analyzing trends and the level of development of environmental protection activity abroad.

The task is to enhance the role and responsibility of USSR embassies in meeting the joint commitments of the Soviet side and foreign countries in environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources and to raise the standard of practical work in clarifying the policy and publicizing the achievements of the USSR in this sphere.

The resolution pays special attention to questions of the radical improvement of environmental education and the inculcation of a solicitous attitude by the population toward nature.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers consider that the tasks of improving the whole work of environmental protection can only be successfully resolved if there is a drastic improvement of standards and knowledge in the ecological sphere. A conscientious and solicitous attitude toward nature must be fostered in each Soviet person beginning with children and continuing in the family, the school, secondary and higher educational establishments, and in production itself. This must be the aim of the activity of all institutions in the education and training system, science, literature and art, the mass media, and trade union, Komsomol, and other social organizations. In all this work it is necessary to determinedly pursue the policy of eliminating the belief that natural resources are inexhaustible and preventing a primitive consumerist attitude toward nature.

The USSR State Committees for Television and Radio Broadcasting, for Cinematography, for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, the USSR Goskompriroda, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR Unions of Writers, of Journalists, of Cinematographers, and other creative unions, the editorial boards of central, republic, and local newspapers and magazines, the All-Union Znaniye Society, the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, and the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements are instructed to radically improve the work of publicizing environmental protection and instilling in Soviet people a solicitous and highly moral attitude toward flora and fauna, land and water resources, and minerals. Pavilions and thematic exhibitions at all-union and republic-level exhibitions of national economic achievements, technology centers, nature centers, museums, and culture centers are to be used as centers for publicizing information about the environment.

Support has been given to public suggestions on the creation of a USSR union of environmental protection societies as well as on the formation of a specialized publishing house for the production of scientific, scientific-methodological, and current affairs materials and artistic literature on environmental protection and on organizing the publication of a weekly newspaper to be called PRIRODA beginning in 1989.

The USSR Goskompriroda and the USSR Ministry of Justice have been instructed to prepare a USSR draft law on environmental protection and to submit it to the USSR Council of Ministers in 1989. This law is to be prepared in conjunction with interested USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers for the purpose of ensuring a comprehensive approach to legal questions of environmental protection and to take into account the requirements of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

Union republic Communist Party central committees and councils of ministers, party kraykoms and obkoms, USSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms are to implement measures to carry out efficient organizational work connected with the radical restructuring of environmental protection management. Special attention must be paid to staffing organs of the USSR Goskompriroda system with highly skilled, principled workers who are devoted to their work and capable of skillfully resolving environmental protection problems in conditions of the broad democratization of society and the transfer of the economy to new economic management methods.

The efforts of central and republic organs of management and soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs at local level must be directed toward ensuring that a zealous attitude toward nature becomes the subject of constant concern by labor collectives, leaders and specialists of all sectors of the national economy and the norm of Soviet people's everyday life.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have expressed the confidence that all Soviet people, party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs will participate most actively in the work of environmental protection in the motherland and will preserve and increase its natural resources in the interests of the present and future generations.

Powers of New Pollution Monitoring Organ Viewed

PM201219 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jan 88 First Edition p 2

[Interview with P. Poletayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for Environmental Protection and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, by N. Kharitonova under the rubric "Examined at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo": "State Order for a Clean Baykal"]

[Excerpts] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has examined and approved the USSR Council of Ministers' proposals for radically restructuring the work of nature conservation in the country. Today the editors publish a commentary by P. Poletayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for Environmental Protection and the Rational Use of Natural Resources. [passage omitted]

[Poletayev] A USSR Supreme Soviet session examined the question of improving nature conservation in the country for the first time in 1972. The right to monitor the use of natural resources was shared among 10 state departments, which were entrusted with imposing limits on human interference in their own area—water, air, forests, minerals, and so forth. The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission has been functioning since 1981. [passage omitted]

[Kharitonova] It is impossible not to respect what has been done. But we also know of other examples where not only state organs but also the broad public have raised an acute ecological problem (this was the case with the pulp and paper combine ruining Baykal and with industry on Lake Ladoga jeopardizing Leningrad's water supply)...

[Poletayev] The list of very grave ecological dramas could be continued—this is our pain, because it is impossible to repay our debts to nature, and much has irretrievably gone. And it is very important for us to realize why this has happened. For we have, alas, to restructure nature conservation work on the basis of bitter experience. After giving departments assignments on ecological issues, we failed to ensure a comprehensive approach to nature and to its—so it turned out—easily exhaustible riches. The only coordinating organ—the Council of Ministers Presidium Commission—consisted of just 15 members and the chairman. Although it included authoritative statesmen, it was a kind of social obligation for them to tackle problems of ecology. While having real rights to elaborate and adopt state decisions on nature conservation activity binding on departments and ministries, the commission nevertheless was unable to replace or ensure subsequent lively creative work in those same departments and ministries on realizing the decisions adopted. But it is essential to scrupulously weigh every step by man toward nature in a republic or oblast or at a specific enterprise to see whether it will do irreparable harm.

The question of creating a unified state system of nature conservation arose back in the mid-seventies, but it was not resolved at the time. Not having a ramified state nature conservation service in the country, we were frequently confronted with faits accomplis. For example, the volume of water in the Aral Sea was halved as a result of unchecked land irrigation, and there are no longer fish there... The creation of a new USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, as provided for in government decisions, radically changes the situation.

[Kharitonova] With what powers is the new organ being endowed?

[Poletayev] Its activity will be directed, above all, toward fulfilling the adopted long-term state program of environmental protection and rational use of natural resources through 2005. The USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, the union republic state committees for nature conservation, and their local organs will comprehensively manage nature conservation activity and implement a unified scientific and technical policy here. They are being entrusted with state monitoring of the use and conservation of land, surface and underground water, the atmosphere, the plant and animal worlds, the marine environment, natural resources, the territorial waters of the USSR, the economic zone and continental shelf of the USSR, and also widespread minerals.

State ecological expertise of general schemes for the development and distribution of the country's productive forces and sectors of the national economy is to be an important nature conservation measure. The committee will also monitor observance of ecological norms when developing new equipment and technology. The struggle to introduce waste-free and low-waste technologies and all possible agitation for them will be the linchpin of work.

Let us take the Kemerovo Industrial Zone, which today is literally "blackening" the sky. Atmospheric pollution there exceeds all permissible limits—the waste-free nature of technology must become an element in the consciousness of all party, soviet, and economic workers there.

[Kharitonova] But the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which has come into force, provides for observance of nature conservation measures and henceforth introduces the enterprise's responsibility for implementing them.

[Poletayev] Yes, that is so. But you must take account of the actual situation. The first 10 days of January are over already, but many labor collectives, unfortunately, still have a poor understanding of the law's basic provisions. This also applies to the sections dealing with nature conservation. I would like to use our conversation to draw the attention of economic leaders to them once again. They will very soon sting to the quick the interests of enterprises. A system of sanctions in the form of fines for violators will very soon be elaborated and introduced such that it will be more advantageous to construct purification installations than to feature on lists of debtors to nature.

Of course, all levers of centralized planning will also be used. The state order, for example, will include long-term economic normatives and ceilings such that the enterprise itself, above all, will monitor its impact on nature.

Again about powers: The committee is being given rights to impose bans on the construction and modernization of industrial projects and even suspend production if ecological violations are detected. In the future the state will not pay for pollution of nature: It can prosecute both enterprises and individual citizens. Everyone remembers the popular song of the fifties "Lilies of the Valley." It was not thought reprehensible to destroy everything beautiful in nature for the sake of a minute's pleasure. The level of the fine for a posy of forest flowers will be high enough to stop some "lovers of nature."

For too long we have spoken, out of inertia, about the inexhaustibility of our riches, about the stores that must be revealed, and about the expanses that must be subjugated. We are faced with a steep, literally 180° turn. The new "Priroda" [nature] Publishing House, the weekly newspaper PRIRODA, the school program of environemntal protection, the special ecological course in technical colleges and VUZ's—all this will be subordinate to the most humane task of fostering our fellow citizens' solicitous attitude toward every particle of nature's fragile edifice.

[Kharitonova] It is no coincidence that the public organizations of the "Greens" in some countries have chosen the words "green world" as their motto. These words reflect the planetary significance of ecological tasks. What new aspects will there be in the state committee's international cooperation with all forces interested in nature conservation?

[Poletayev] Chiefly painstaking, everyday work. Together with colleagues from other countries we must learn to make the transition from slogans to action, define more accurately the chief points where efforts must be made, and act in a concerted manner. For the ocean, the atmosphere, the planet's thermal balance, the forest potential, and the genetic stock of everything living are spheres of our joint work.

First, we must instill order here, in particular. I will name the most laggard sectors, where the battle against departmentalism promises to be a hard one. The environment is treated worst of all by enterprises in power generation, agriculture, the chemical, pulp, and construction materials industries, fertilizer production, and ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. Let us recall, for example, our attitude toward minerals—the entire Mendeleyev table remains in "slag heaps," although scientists have been protesting against this practice for decades. These are the problems we must start with.

Prostyakov on Job Reductions, Unemployment Fears

PM211652 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with I. Prostyakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, by PRAVDA correspondent S. Pastukhov: "Subject to Reduction..."—date, place of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Sixty years ago, on the eve of our first 5-year plans, the country was still in the grip of unemployment. In 1928 the labor exchanges registered 1,365,000 people in its fetters. In 1929, with the start of the first 5-year plan, the number fell to 1,242,000. By 1 October 1930 there were 240,000 unemployed, and by the end of that year—the beginning of the new decade—for the first time in the history of mankind unemployment as a socioeconomic phenomenon was completely eliminated, and it never reappeared in our country in that form. But recently PRAVDA has begun to receive letters whose authors voice a fear of being left jobless. Everywhere, at enterprises, farms, and organizations, the release of workers and reduction of numbers is taking place, or else preparations for it have begun. "It is as though long-forgotten times were repeating themselves," Muscovite S. Sokolov notes in this connection.

"No, it is not like that at all," I. Prostyakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, objected in a conversation with PRAVDA's correspondent. "I say this on the basis of the practice of our life today, on the basis of the party's line on this question, and in particular on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU resolution 'On Ensuring Efficient Employment of the Population, Improving the Job Placing System, and Strengthening Social Guarantees for the Working People.' As you know, the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) came into force on 1 January of the new year, 1988, and indeed, a major, important, and—I am not afraid to say—historic process has begun in the country to ensure the new, better deployment and utilization of manpower. But this process does not in the least revive the troubles of the old unemployment, even if some people were to try to revive it, say, as some kind of 'lever,' 'economic medicine,' and so forth."

[Pastukhov] Igor Ignatyevich, you speak of "deployment," but readers say "reduction"?....

[Prostyakov] The reduction, or release, of workers is one stage in the process I mentioned. For the sake of clarity, let me enlarge on that a little.

In our country the right to work is a very important gain for the people and an undisputed advantage of socialism. Every citizen is guaranteed the right to work in accordance with his vocational training, education, calling, and individual capabilities. The requirements of the national economy are also taken into account.

It is the constant concern of the party and state to ensure the efficient, improved utilization of manpower and to step up the role and prestige of conscientious, creative labor by workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia with a view to ensuring the country's successful socioeconomic development and increasing people's prosperity. These tasks are particularly urgent today, in the period of restructuring.

The coming into force of the Law on the State Enterprise and the transfer of the majority of industrial enterprises and construction, transport, and scientific organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing this year constitute a new stage in the radical reform of economic management. The switch to an intensive economy, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the creation of a system of motivations and incentives encouraging workers to work productively lead objectively to the release of surplus personnel. Calculations show that some 16 million people could be released in this way by the year 2000. In the current 5-year plan alone and solely as a result of the introduction of new labor remuneration conditions, it is planned to reduce numbers by some 3 million in production sectors. This is, I repeat, a necessary process, and it is gathering speed. The results obtained on the Belorussian Railroad and at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry are well known. At Avtozil 2,500 people have been released...

[Pastukhov] You are talking in millions and thousands, having in mind the interests of our whole society, the good of the whole country. The readers, especially those who for various reasons are under threat of dismissal, which does not depend on them or only partly depends on them, are worried about their personal future....

[Prostyakov] I entirely understand them and I share the concern of every one of them. Therefore let me say at once: Nobody who wants to work will be left without a job or find his personal interests encroached upon. At least this is how things stand in the main. As soon as a worker is released, the process of placing him in a job begins. Or rather, efforts to find jobs for cadres whose jobs are to be reduced should precede the reduction itself, and with good bosses, by which I mean the administration of enterprises and the organs responsible for the tasks of job placing, that is how it happens—according to the principle: First find a job, then dismiss.

[Pastukhov] I don't understand.

[Prostyakov] Let me explain. This year, as the published resolution says, economically accountable centers for job placing, retraining, and vocational guidance for the population are to be set up in union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, and major cities, and economically accountable job placing bureaus in other regions and cities. These centers and bureaus (which, incidentally, have nothing in common with the familiar labor exchanges and deal not with working people, but with enterprises) are responsible, specifically, for finding jobs for the unemployed [nezanyatnyy] population, as well as for released workers, with a preliminary choice on their part of their place of work, before the termination of a labor contract.

In other words, a statewide system is being set up which strengthens the Soviet person's social guarantees on that most important question of his life—the question of labor. A person to whom the administration has, by virtue of production necessity, offered a termination of his labor contract will be sufficiently well prepared for this undoubtedly painful operation to undergo it without great moral or other losses.

[Pastukhov] That will be in the future... But today, where can the released workers go?

[Prostyakov] Well, first of all, there is not necessarily any need to turn a person away from the gates of his own enterprise. Let me say again, a good boss will not let a good worker go, he will find a place for him within the collective: He will create a second or third shift if they do not already exist, he will expand production and put it on a new footing.

If a worker does find himself outside the gates after all, even today he will not go to waste. I have just had a phone call: 1 million workers are urgently needed at industrial enterprises and in construction. That is in only two sectors. Several million are needed in the next few years to open up the Baykal-Amur Railroad zone. And take the service sphere—basically it has yet to be colonized, and colonized with workers. Today the annual growth in the number of workers in our country is just over 600,000—a thimbleful beside a barrelful. A thimbleful of potential and a barrelful of need.

[Pastukhov] An acquaintance of mine, Igor Ignatyevich, is a deputy minister who is under threat of release. What can he do, in your opinion, become a shoemaker or a plumber?

[Prostyakov] Could he cope with their jobs? I too have an acquaintance like that—in Estonia. He did not wait to be pushed, he "released" himself at his own request and became head of a production service in an agro-industrial firm. He still has plenty to do, he says, but it is not "paper" work, but "real" work, and his wage is not R300, like before, but R500 or more.

But in general, your question is not as simple as the answer I have given. Let me give you a figure in this connection: 17,718,000. That is the number of workers in the management apparatus in our country today. True, that includes more than 3.5 million engineers and technicians directly engaged in technical servicing of instruments and machines, as well as drivers of official cars, typists, machine operators, junior service personnel, security personnel, and so forth. But even the remaining 14 million is quite a large number—12% of the total number of workers and employees.

As for the 11.5 million people belonging to the management personnel of enterprises and organizations, the question is clear. In cadre redeployments they come under the law on the enterprise, where everything is provided for, on the whole. But that leaves another 2.5 million workers on management organs who are paid not from the enterprises' funds, but from the state budget. That is certainly a lot...

[Pastukhov] Why "a lot"? Take any organization or department you like, everywhere they complain about overwork, staff shortages, and low wages.

[Prostyakov] That is precisely why it is "a lot." Even without a special analysis of the problem you can see that here people are creating overwork for each other with partly or totally useless paperwork. Therefore the fewer such people there are, the less the deluge of instructions, forms, reports, and so forth will be. That is a very good thing in itself. But that is not the point.

The labor of workers on management organs has to a large extent begun to change literally before their very eyes or, if I can put it like this, should rise to a higher level. The radical economic reform requires from management organs not general "instructions from above" or yet more "decisions sent down," but well considered, concrete help in organizing practical successes in the sector, region, enterprise, or farm. Yet management organs, where it is true that specialists' wages are, as a rule, lower than those of specialists in production, have accumulated many people with a low level of professional training and lacking in initiative. By reducing them and handing over some of the resources thus freed to comrades who are well trained and have initiative, we will gain a second benefit—the strengthening of the management apparatus.

Another thing. I have in front of me 15 or so volumes of the so-called "itemized list" of management staff units in the union republics. At the beginning of this year there were more than 800 union-republican and republican ministries and departments. Their numbers do not have much to do with the volumes of production or the number of enterprises and organizations under their jurisdiction. In Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, for instance, the number of ministries and departments (not in total, but for each of them) is greater than in the RSFSR, which outstrips them many times over in terms of volume of output produced. In Moldavia there are 53 ministries and departments for 7,800 independent enterprises and organizations. In the RSFSR the same number of ministries and departments are responsible for nearly 273,000 enterprises and organizations. There is a similar picture in the other republics. There is a particularly high proportion of management apparatus in Turkmenia, Latvia, and Kirghizia.

The task set is to reduce the unjustifiably large number of republican ministries and departments and reduce the numerical strength of the management apparatus that has grown up, proceeding on the basis that many of its functions should be handed over to the labor collectives themselves. We have calculated that it will be necessary to reduce the numerical strength of workers on the apparatus of republican ministries and departments by approximately 50%, and at oblast level by 30-35%. As for rayon and city level, here it will sometimes be necessary not to reduce the apparatus, but on the contrary, to strengthen it. This is because of the new role of local soviets and the party's line of strengthening democratic principles in management locally.

[Pastukhov] All the same, the figure you give of 2.5 million workers on the management apparatus must be "slimmed down" by several hundred thousand. Where can these fellow citizens of ours go?

[Prostyakov] I have already answered that, citing the example of my acquaintance in Estonia—into production. Here there is an urgent need today, and there will be an increasingly urgent need, for experienced management workers. Another avenue is the formation of cadres, including management cadres, for new enterprises. Several hundred of these are coming into being every year in our country. The problem of providing specialists for regions of the country which are just being opened up is also very acute. True, here it is, in my view, still necessary to resolve the rather difficult question of allowing a specialist redeployed to these areas to retain a residence permit for his former place of residence, as is done for people going to work in regions of the far north and so forth. But in any case, there is a great need for cadres, and their redistribution in the conditions of scientific and technical progress is a natural process. The preservation of the old employment structure inevitably leads to stagnation.

[Pastukhov] Experienced workers, you said, are needed. What about young people? Are you leaving them to their own devices?

[Prostyakov] In what way? Both young workers and elderly workers, people of pensionable age, who are subject to reduction are, like everyone else, under the protection of our laws, under the protection of local organs of soviet power, trade unions, and job placing organs, which are obliged to help them with their future career. Incidentally, benefits in connection with reductions apply to these workers as much as to anyone else.

[Pastukhov] What benefits?

[Prostyakov] They are, for instance, paid a severance allowance of a month's wages; their average wage is retained for the period taken to find a job, but not more than 2 months from the date of dismissal, taking into account the payment of the month's severance allowance...

[Pastukhov] Well, clearly there is sufficient compensation. But I think (one last question) if the prospect of being released affected you personally, you would refuse all the money, as long as you could escape that prospect?

[Prostyakov] Wouldn't you? I am sure nobody likes the prospect. But I am also sure that in our country, I will say it again, a working person will not go to waste. Unemployment threatens nobody. What can constitute a threat is bureaucracy, and the complacency of certain officials in the redistribution of cadres. Well, they must be put right at once...

Prokhorov on 'Job Placement' Resolution

LD221117 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—By TASS Commentator Boris Prokhorov:

A recent resolution by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the government and trade unions for updating the system of job placement and enhancing social guarantees for working people makes for an integral nationwide system ensuring the human right to work.

This does not mean that this right in the Soviet Union until now has not been real, and the best proof is that the country has not known unemployment for more than half a century.

But radical economic reform cannot be effected without major labor shifts between different sectors and regions. Statisticians estimate that some 16 million people will be laid off before century's end as new technology is phased in and managerial rolls trimmed.

It is vital to make sure that the each of the displaced workers will get timely re-training to acquire a new trade (which will, of course, be at the government's expense) and not incur any serious financial losses as a result of having to move to a different workplace.

The resolution's purpose is to increase social guarantees.

Soviet society already offers a high degree of social protection. Respect for social and economic rights here is guaranteed both by a range of legislative acts and by the practical activities of state agencies to enforce these without fail.

The latest resolution is another brick in this building.

Importantly, it has been passed in good time. Job relocation on a mass scale as a result of modernization schemes and cuts in managerial positions is yet ahead, but a mechanism for providing affected workers with employment quickly and painlessly is already being created.

Guarantee of Work 'Will Not Change'

PM211915 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 17 Jan 88 p 3

[Viktor Loshak article: "No One Is Indispensable"]

[Text] The sceptics say: we've already seen all that. It seems as if we've always been reducing the numbers in our party apparatus. We reduced spending on managers in 1928, in 1934 and in 1984. In 1969, we adopted a special resolution "On Measures for Making the Management Apparatus Less Expensive and More Efficient". But the apparatus got bigger and bigger and just changed names; associations merged one day and broke up the next. Their acronyms changed but their essence remained the same: a centralized bureaucracy ruling on dozens of questions; fiddling with the accounts and millions of roubles; making or breaking enterprises. The reductions didn't change anything really.

The present-day collisions with the apparatus are different. Not only statistically (some 100,000 workers in Republic and Union ministries are being laid off in Moscow), but fundamentally, too—the economic reforms and independence do not need trifling patrons, second and third conductors, or people shuffling papers for fat salaries.

The reduction of the apparatus is also an attack on economic conservatism. The new step of perestroyka is not easy—three out of four ministries are still busy agreeing upon the numbers to be laid off. In other words, they are trying to let go as few people as possible since they regard what is taking place as just another campaign. And once again the enterprises are suffering. Provincial delegates have a hard time getting anything done in Moscow, given the unclear and nervous situation in the ministries where everyone is obsessed with "who's going to be fired".

The apparatus is strained and continues to work in the centralized mode. Maybe they think that the only basis for independence and democratization is a blanket state order, and the unmotivated, voluntary exemption of the enterprises' profits (which in this case had better be called a tax).

It is an open secret that the prestige of the ministerial administration has been falling lately in the public's mind—but so has the prestige of the apparatchiki themselves. So, now that thousands of them will have to be given new jobs, many Moscow enterprises and organizations prefer not to advertise their vacancies. According to careful estimates, in January only every third vacant job was officially registered.

Naturally, it is impossible to regard people as superfluous cogs in the huge managerial machine. We no longer think in such a way and on such a scale. We no longer allow ourselves to move great masses of people or conquer nature by rallying the youth organization. We no longer expect to make the rivers flow backwards. One would like to treat each and every one of the thousands laid off as individuals. It is a pity that the job-placement service proved to be so poorly prepared for this and that the ministries, which were aware of the layoffs beforehand, failed to organize the retraining of the personnel.

The layoffs are a real trial for some people. Most of them were honestly proceeding up the career ladder and now they have to start all over again. Some are losing out financially, others in terms of prestige. Still others are reluctant to part with the material benefits provided by the apparatus. And then, imagine it, to move from the management field to the service industry! The service industry especially needs a lot of personnel—currently in our country it employs less than 25 per cent of all workers, whereas in many industrialized countries it employs nearly 80 per cent.

All told, our country now has 700,000 vacant jobs in production. Therefore, it is possible to find a job in one's profession and with good pay. But not in Moscow. I asked at the State Agro-Industrial Committee—where some 2,000 agricultural and food-processing specialists laid off when it was set up—how many had moved to the countryside? As it turned out—not a single one. Isn't it because of their attraction to life in the capital that these new state production associations try to stay in Moscow?

Two-thirds of all people laid off by the central apparatus will remain in their industries. This looks excellent, ideally speaking: ministry workers will bring their know-how to production. Especially since the present layoffs have been accompanied, at long last, with permission for people with higher education to work with machine tools, thus legalizing what has long been the practice. However, there is the threat that executives being laid off will simply be given new executive offices. MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA recently published a letter about this from workers at a Moscow civil aviation plant to their minister—they are angry that, without forewarning, a research institute is hurriedly being set up and attached to their plant. Their question is quite in order: Isn't the setting up of the institute connected with the reduction in the Ministry staff?

Socialism's most important guarantee—the guarantee of work—will not change under the new economic conditions. It just needs to be clarified for the public: the right to effective work, to work that leads us forward rather than backward.

The late journalist Anatoliy Agranovskiy wrote his last, unfinished feature about the layoffs in the apparatus. He compared the managerial apparatus to a flying machine: "The apparatus cannot be too big or too small. It must be expedient." Clear and to the point.

Job Rationalization Problems Viewed

PM211051 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by Yelizaveta Leontyeva under the "Journalist's Notes" rubric: "At the Cadres Crossroads"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter; boldface as published]

[Text] "I used to work in a branch of a Moscow production association (if possible do not name it if the letter is published) and I was recently made redundant. I agreed with the commission's conclusions—I had achieved no particular successes in my work. But you must also agree with me that nothing special was wanted of me. Our collective was always among those where initiative and independence were penalized. I am well aware that now we must gamble on enterprising people and rid ourselves of "ballast," otherwise efficiency will not be enhanced. Yet literally straight after my departure a "vacancies" notice was put up in the entrance. Surely the most enterprising people will not rush to respond to this call to our far from leading collective?

"Yes, I was found work—I was sent to our consumer services combine attached to the head enterprise. I do not like my new job. It is a long way from home and the pay is less. I have children and I live without a husband. Tell me how the slogan of the consolidation of social justice looks against the background of my situation? N. Petrova, engineer."

The State Committee for Labor and Social Problems gave me the following information: By the year 2000 it is planned to release 12-18 million workers in the material production sphere, on average at least 1.2 million a year. Behind this stands not only the process of job placement but also of redistribution: between enterprises, sectors, territories, and city and countryside. There is a multitude of problems. We have touched on them in part in our articles "Your Post Is Being Made Redundant" and "There is a Service" for 10 November and 29 December 1987. The most acute of these problems can also be discerned in the letter cited above. It is: Does social justice comply with the urgent need to enhance the efficiency of all our work and with the intensification of production? The former requires the most solicitous and attentive attitude toward man, the latter categorical liberation from "ballast." There is a dialectic contradiction.

The eminent sociologist T. Zaslavskaya believes that at present we must—temporarily—give priority to economic efficiency, with losses of social justice. We have been too lenient, she says, and economic accountability [khozraschet] is a cruel joke. Of course, we must try to mitigate this contradiction. But whose concern is it?

When Ye. Antosenkov, director of the Labor Scientific Research Institute, said at a session of the All-Union Directors' Club at the end of last year in Zaporozhye that job placement is a matter for the state and not for the director, that the state should create powerful independent budget organs for the purpose, a buzz of approval traveled round the auditorium. Yes, yes, of course, the directors said delightedly, it is obviously a state matter...

That is all true, and measures are already being taken to create such organs. But that in no way means that the leaders of enterprises or organizations can shrug off this concern, which they would of course be glad to do.

You can understand them: The reduction of the number of workers has not yet become an accepted necessity, it has been launched "from above" and imposed through directors. Leaders are not ready either economically or organizationally for big reductions (and job placement). They are not ready economically because economic accountability is still not omnipotent and because they are clinging with all their might to numerical strength. They are not ready organizationally because of the lack of services which engage in this work in a more or less qualified manner and because of the helplessness of the cadres departments whose functions frequently come down to registration. The hastily created commissions in which, incidentally, few people are eager to participate (thankless labor!) are concerned not with those who should be made redundant but rather with those who have to be left against their will. One person is not entirely well, another has children, another has a long work record, another is only beginning his career. You are sorry for them all. What is this—the habit of being kind when you are not responsible for it economically, or that social justice which N. Petrova complains is in short supply? I do not venture to judge. Only in this situation the result will be that in principle only a worker in his prime, without children and unburdened by illness, can be made redundant... That is the worker most suitable for work. The kind of worker "they need themselves."

In general the directors' meeting in Zaporozhye showed that they are more worried by the problem of how to keep good workers. Not surprisingly, with the first steps of economically accountable relations the process of enterprises' stratification has been intensified and, it must be supposed, will intensify still further. It is hard to keep a collective on a "sinking ship."

I have already frequently heard the expression "I must stick to a good firm [firma]." There is nothing extraordinary about that: Even before a worker preferred the strongest possible enterprise. But now that the difference in wages promises to grow immeasurably and indeed is already growing, the "good firm" will become even more alluring.

What ploys do leaders not undertake to settle a worker. It is a good thing if they think seriously about his working and daily living conditions, but most often they try to "buy" him with small and, alas, unreliable benefits. Each has his own methods. For instance, V. Krivoshchapov, director of the Magnitogorsk calibrator plant, actively advertises wage bonuses for... good health. For instance, if you have passed the Ready for Labor and Defense tests you get a bonus. V. Yerpylev, director of the "Nagornaya" mine, worried by turnover, proposes to issue all benefits only after a period of work in one place. When he finds a job at some plant a worker must conclude with the administration a contract for 10-15 years stipulating mutual commitments, including commitments on housing and wage rises. If he leaves earlier than scheduled—he begins at another enterprise with a lower wage. The plant where he goes should observe this clause. Otherwise you cannot keep a person at one place, it is claimed.

There's no point in concealing the fact that it is precisely in this way, by moving from place to place, that people increase their wages. Buying them has become a system. But making a worker, figuratively speaking, a serf, is also after all not the answer. We have seen many enforced administrative measures (right up to depriving workers of their passports) but this experience has only erected a wall between "us" and "them"; between the rank and file and the leaders.

Another method of keeping cadres and prompting them to work now under discussion—unemployment—would look no better in terms of its consequences. It is true that now that it has been stated from lofty rostrums that this should be avoided, the expression "reserve army of manpower" has begun to figure cautiously instead of the word "unemployment."

"There must be a reliable way of compelling a worker to work," Yu. Apostolov ("Bashselkhozmash") exclaimed at the directors club session. "We have achieved nothing with the aid of norm setting, the raising of salaries and wage rates has not helped, and harping on ideological conviction has no effect. That means we need a manpower reserve."

"So do we need a reserve or not?" Ye. Antosenkov, director of the scientific research institute of labor, asked the auditorium.

"We do need it!!" voices rang out.

"One enterprise has already calculated that in that case labor productivity would rise 20%...."

"Far more," the harmonious chorus of directors corrected Antosenkov.

Well, such clashes of opinion are exceptionally useful. Since it has become a painful issue it must be discussed. The demand for a manpower reserve is a cry from the directors' hearts, when they know the worth of a pound of social justice, when hardly anyone would exchange the wages of prestigious enterprises for the wages of light industry. Nonetheless, in my view a certain shift in emphasis is taking place in this very important problem.

The main topic of the session of the All-Union Directors' Club was the social activation of the enterprise worker. Of course, the organizers of this meeting (the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of Economy, the Organization of Industrial Production and the Zaporozhye "Abrazivnyy Kombinat" association) invested the broadest meaning in "activation." But when it came to specific talk it was in many respects reduced to the simplest formula—"securing," "forcing to work," "compelling." (Where is social justice here?) What can be heard in these formulas? Well, first, the former administrative note. Second, the inability to break away from yesterday's methods of economic management and consider the present situation, which is changing quite rapidly. We must involve ourselves actively in these changes and not wait for someone to create a manpower reserve, to issue an instruction on the "nonpoaching" of workers, and ensure a paradise of long-awaited stability. Perhaps there is no need today to compel people to work. People work and produce more of some types of output than anyone in the world. But in their mass they are not of the same quality and do not have the same consumer properties. That means that it is a question of instilling in a person the ability to perform qualitatively different labor, not through prohibitions and coercion but through the creation of conditions which will impel him toward this. The result is, if we formulate it even more precisely, that it is not the worker himself but the system of management which will be the target of activation. In this case the system of management of the enterprise as the basic nucleus of the economy.

The main thing which the new system of management can give a person is a sense of ownership, of direct involvement in everything taking place in his plant or association; involvement of the kind which will not allow him to sit out his hours at work in vain, "with no special successes in work," as our reader N. Petrova has done. We have deemed it necessary to develop this feeling, but so far all is not well with regard to practical steps. Confirmation of this lies in the results of a poll of the directors carried out by that same USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of Economy. The range of those polled was, it is true, not wide, but the results are nonetheless of some interest because in them you can trace a characteristic paradox.

"The entire collective and each worker should become the real masters of their work and lives"—this position prevails in the replies to the questionnaire (40%). **"The interests of the workers are of course important but the main thing is that each person should fulfill better the matter assigned to him"**—this habitual opinion took second place (20%). **"There should be a fuller consideration of workers' interests"** took third place (17%). Fourth place was taken by the vague **"the administration should be more concerned for workers and they should be concerned with working better"** (13%). But only 10% of leaders voted for democracy of management.

When we compare the first 40% of directors with the last 10%, we can see clearly that the first percentage indicates by no means a stance but only an empty declaration which rapidly loses its percentage when matters reach the point of sharing power between the leader and the collective. It is not for nothing that in the second part of the questionnaire, which dealt with specific work "to activate the human factor," the development of democracy and glasnost was again at the bottom of the list.

I have met with many enterprise leaders since familiarizing myself with this poll, but I have heard very few opinions about how to make labor not so much compulsory as attractive. Many people are still wondering how to return prestige to complex, skilled labor and to dislodge the abundant froth of corrupting wage rates from simple labor: how to emancipate production and social initiative which, as letter writer N. Petrova rightly notes, is usually penalized? How to link economically accountable relations more reliably with the worker's fundamental interests? In brief, how to ensure that he treasures his place—that he does indeed treasure it and is not tethered to it? Yet behind all this lie even more complex concepts: the attitude toward means of production and forms of ownership. How public that form of ownership which we call state ownership is remains unclear.

Questions, questions... How many have accumulated! For too long we naively supposed that the development of production relations in our country was proceeding smoothly, when it had long not been the case. We will not say archly that we know the answers to the questions which have become thickly tangled in the letter from our "reduced" reader. We still have to rack our brains over them.

'Extremists' Impede Solution of Tatar Problem

LD211757 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Tashkent January 21 TASS—A group of extremists headed by Mustafa Dzhemilev, Fuat Ablyamitov and Sabrie Seutova is artificially whipping up passions over the issue of Crimean Tatars but this only impedes the problem's solution. This conclusion is drawn in the article "Falsehood on Order" printed in the newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA published in Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan.

Numerous letters received by the newspaper from Crimean Tatars who live in this central Asian republic show that they want to distance themselves from these "self-proclaimed national leaders".

During the past several weeks a group of extremists from among Crimean Tatars tried to organise disturbances in Tashkent and some other towns in Uzbekistan. For their provocations they chose sites dear to Soviet people—monuments to those who fell in the struggle against fascism and monuments to outstanding personalities. At these sites they shouted that the rights of Crimean Tatars are allegedly being violated in the USSR. But these actions evoked not the compassion but the indignation of those who witnessed them, including Crimean Tatars.

The slogan of the extremists—"terror against Sabrie means terror against the people"—is based on a falsification. In December of last year, the article says, Sabrie Seutova, a staff member of the magazine IYLDYZ that is published in Tashkent in the language of Crimean Tatars, left for Moscow to take part in nationalistic actions. On returning to Tashkent she began to circulate allegations that the authorities in Moscow had treated her rudely and that she had suffered a head and brain injury. This allegation was picked up by Western media outlets with which Seutova has close contacts.

Facts, however, disprove this, the paper says. On her own request Seutova was subjected to comprehensive checks in several clinics in Moscow and Tashkent, including the Uzbek Neurosurgical Centre. The experts were unanimous in their conclusion: simulation.

The article also writes about the ties of the extremist leaders with the "National Centre of Crimean Tatars" in the United States which includes persons who collaborated with the Nazis during the Second World War. One of them, Memet Muedinov, also known as Memet Sevdiyar, called during the Nazi occupation of Soviet Crimea to "track down hiding Bolsheviks...and to destroy them like dogs by immediately handing them over to the SD".

So the group of extremists is compromising itself in the eyes of Crimean Tatars and demonstrating its genuine aims which have nothing to do with the interests of their people, the paper concludes.

'Indifference' to Child Safety Rules Scored

PM211629 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Jan 88 p 2

[Article written specially for TRUD by TASS Correspondent O. Yarunina under the rubric "A Question To Be Answered": "The Result of Indifference"]

[Excerpts] The USSR Prosecutor's Office has sent a protest to S.G. Shcherbakov, USSR Minister of Education, and a report to V.I. Chernoivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, in connection with violations of the law on labor protection and the safety of schoolchildren. As a result of those violations hundreds of schoolchildren are killed in the country each year and thousands more are crippled.

How can this be? After all, we proclaim that children are our most valuable and precious asset. The Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol, the Academies of Pedagogical and Medical Sciences, 22,000 scientific workers, and thousands of inspectors all watch over the lives and health of the rising generation. Now they have been joined by the V.I. Lenin Children's Foundation, whose charter also includes a promise to care for the young generation. Nevertheless, accidents involving children are increasing year by year. In 1984 about 31,000 schoolchildren under 14 years of age were hospitalized, in 1985 the figure rose to over 32,000, and in 1986 it reached almost 35,000. Each year more than 50 schoolchildren out of every 1,000 aged under 14 are injured, sometimes fatally. Those are the statistics.

For various reasons people like to recruit children for various kinds of work: for harvesting, garbage disposal, tree planting, and on construction sites. There is nothing wrong with that, strictly speaking. The children like it. They work with amazing enthusiasm. Many managers await their arrival impatiently. Not without selfish motives, it is true. After all, children work quite hard and ask virtually nothing for their labor, labor which is sometimes not appropriate to children. It is possible to avoid paying them or feeding them or to feed them poorly. They aren't actually hired and yet...

"The irresponsible attitude toward children is simply astonishing," your TASS correspondent was told by State Legal Counselor Third Class G. Polozov, senior assistant to the USSR prosecutor general. "Judge for yourself: It is not only senior schoolchildren who are hired for agricultural work but 10-12 year-olds. Often they are forced to work 12 hours at a time, even at night. In Maritime Kray an exhausted fourth-grade pupil fell asleep in a silo, got covered with grain, and died..."

The actions of those adults who employ adolescents in unhealthy conditions can only be called criminal. Around 100 schoolchildren from the Krasnoturinskiy industrial technical college in Sverdlovsk Oblast caught dysentery after being assigned to potato harvesting. In Naryn Oblast 135 schoolchildren were infected with brucellosis at livestock units.

It is good that these glaring examples have been publicized—criminal proceedings have been instituted as a result. The causes will be revealed and the culprits will, of course, be punished. From January through June of last year alone 884 officials were called to account and 1,063 more were warned. However, many guilty people escape punishment. Legal workers face tremendous difficulties. This is the effect of an attitude born of many years of indifference and sloppiness when people try to put it down to "accident," or exonerate the irresponsible leader by saying that he is "needed" or that he is a deputy, or that he can "work and work but that won't bring the dead child back." This encourages the corrupt criminal attitude toward people's life and health.

Sometimes one is struck by the utter indifference and even apathy toward a disaster which could have been avoided. Or have we not become accustomed to it by putting it all down to chance? A train derailed—put it down to chance, a highway accident—chance, a broken leg during physical training—chance again... Does that not denote a reluctance to get to the very root of an event and remove the cause?

Can the fate of 14-year old Serezha Kovalenko really be put down to chance? He received serious cuts when he crashed into a glass door at the No 1024 school in Moscow's Perovskiy Rayon.

"Such incidents are not isolated," Ye. Vasilevskaya, chief of the casualty department at the I.V. Rusakov city clinic. "We have repeatedly said and written to the newspapers and planning institutes that glass doors and shoddy staircases and banisters which lead to accidents should not be allowed in schools. They promise to do something about it but so far nothing has been done. And injuries in school are increasing." [passage omitted]

The question of injuries to children in this country is acute. It has been discussed at the highest levels. Several years ago a decision was adopted on additional measures to prevent injuries and other accidents. The creation of special commissions to coordinate the activity of state organs and public organizations in this matter was also envisaged. These commissions were to have been headed by deputy chairmen of union and autonomous republic councils of ministers. But no progress has been made on this matter.

An All-Union Center for the Prevention of Accidents in the Home and Among Children was created in Moscow under the Central Scientific Research Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics. A grand and highly significant name. But only a small group of doctors have been assigned to it.

Can we seriously talk about injury prevention when the Ministry of Health refuses to discuss the problem with journalists? Some Komsomol workers show a lack of concern. For example, Komsomol Central Committee instructor A. Rybakov is utterly opposed to articles on this topic in the press: "We are trying to pass resolutions on the broader use of children in labor, and items of this kind merely hinder us." No one disputes the importance of labor training. But it takes serious work to organize labor safety and the protection of children's health, not just paperwork.

Deplorable though it is, it must be admitted that for many years we have closed our eyes to the problem of injuries to children and adolescents and pretended that all was well in our country. Now we have met it face to face. Yet in the opinion of specialists accidents can be avoided completely if work is organized correctly.

It is clear that what we need is not bureaucratic organizations, even if their slogans are good and correct, but caring and skillful mentors who can teach schoolchildren all they need to know and keep them from harm. Who is going to handle the task of effectively protecting our childrens' safety? Who is going to conduct a thorough and objective study of the causes of accidents and not only elaborate measures to prevent injury to children but ensure their comprehensive introduction? For the time being these questions, sadly, remain unanswered.

Artists Have 'Lively, at Times Heated' Debate

LD212220 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

A lively, at times heated, debate held at the Seventh Congress of Soviet Artists which is in the third day in the Soviet capital reflects complex processes of restructuring taking place in creative organizations in the USSR, also in the activity of the USSR Artists' Union.

The delegates analyze the path traversed by Soviet visual arts and note their considerable achievements. "Yet it is far more important for us to talk about shortcomings, to learn from the lessons of the past," said prominent Moscow graphic artist Igor Obrosov. He noted, specifically, that some important principles of party guidance of art were forgotten in the thirties. Regulation and voluntarism replaced free competition of various trends of art.

Stringent criticism was addressed at the congress to the board of the USSR Artists' Union which, as delegates said, has not yet become a real centre of creative life of artists. Zukhur Khabibullayev, artist from Tajikistan, pointed out that ties between artists of the Russian federation and those in union republics are weak. He said this interferes with mutual artistic enrichment of national cultures and in the long run has a negative effect on the development multinational Soviet art.

The increased attendance of museums and exhibitions in the recent years in the USSR is a clear evidence of the growth of interest in art among broadest sections of the population, it was said at the congress. At the same time it was emphasized in speeches that the leadership of the Artists' Union pays little attention to the living conditions and work of artists. There is a shortage of artists' studios, exhibition premises, art galleries in many cities.

The delegates showed particular interest in the destiny of young artists who have become more active in the recent years. The number of exhibitions of young artists, for instance, increased considerably. But the Artists' Union shows little care for professional development of young artists. This is held by prominent Soviet artist Iliya Glazunov, who spoke at the congress.

A closed meeting took place in the Grand Kremlin palace today. The delegates elected a new composition of the board of the USSR Artists' Union. The results of the voting will be announced at the closing meeting on January 22.

Science Conference Held in Moldavia

LD211446 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Today, on the memorial day for Vladimir Ilich Lenin, a republican practical scientific conference—The Establishment of Soviet Power in Moldavia, a Triumph of Lenin's Principles of Democracy, the Soviets of People's Deputies and Restructuring—opened in Kishinev. The organizers are the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers of the republic, the Academy of Social Sciences within the CPSU Central Committee, the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Academy of Sciences of the Moldavian SSR.

Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and other speakers who addressed the conference noted the definite intensification of work by the Supreme and local soviets of the republic and analyzed questions of further improving their work and topical problems of Soviet state construction.

Bukharin Text on Lenin Published in Moscow

LD212051 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1944 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, January 21 (TANJUG)—The periodical SOVETSKAYA KULTURA today published text on Lenin written by Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin.

This is the first text by Bukharin, one of Lenin's closest aides killed in Stalin's purges in 1938, which appeared in the Soviet Press for the past 50 years.

Bukharin's text was published together with those of Gorkiy, Lunacharskiy and others in the occasion of the anniversary of Lenin's death.

Media Meeting Described, Gorbachev Cited

PM211931 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 17 Jan 88 p 4

[Yegor Yakovlev article: "Checking Our Watches. Notes by a Participant in the Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"—italics as published]

[Text] The talk started at 11 a.m. With two intervals, it lasted for nearly seven hours. The meeting itself—with leaders of the mass media, ideological organizations and creative unions—could be called a New Year's meeting: it was held the first week of the new year to discuss the results of the past year and expectations for the year to come. Addressing all those present, Mikhail Gorbachev suggested we check our watches: the time shapes the destiny of our country.

This was the fourth such meeting. People spoke, just as they had before, confidently, often impartially and absolutely frankly, without any insinuations or hints our interpreters abroad like so much. I'll allow myself to give some good advice: it's high time to stop looking for a different, secret meaning in what is taking place in the USSR. Soviet policy today has only one explicit meaning, spoken for all to hear.

The talk on January 8 was held at the juncture not only of two years, but of two stages of perestroyka as well. As Gorbachev reminded the audience, the first stage has essentially been completed. The work has been done to theoretically grasp the situation that has taken shape in the country in the mid-80s, decisions have been taken without which further progress would be unthinkable. Typically, during the first stage of perestroyka, the main burden was borne by the Party leadership and the mass media, and the creative intelligentsia tried to do a lot. Now, at the second stage, it is not so much the tasks as their scale that is changing—the perestroyka policy is coming into contact with the main strata of society. It took two years to formulate the concept of perestroyka; to implement it will take considerably more time and effort.

From my notebook. Gorbachev emphasized: the people are for perestroyka with all their hearts. Now we must help them act. We can't allow those who are only observing the participants in perestroyka, waiting for errors and trying to capitalize on them, to triumph. We must struggle for each and every superintendent, so to speak, of perestroyka and support all fellow travellers working to renovate society.

The year that was was a year of major events, of major decisions and of intense work. Here are just a few of its landmarks.

Today we know our history in a deeper way. The work connected with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution enabled us to think more seriously about our history, to learn the lessons from it, and develop a perspective for the future.

From my notebook. Elaborating on the idea of one of the speakers who talked about the significance of history, Gorbachev expressed his own thoughts aloud—our history is the most fruitful science. The more one studies it, the better one understands our today. If our system has survived such trials as the conditions of the past years, which still hit us today like machine-gun bursts—if the system has survived that, then it is a viable system. It is impossible to replace one semitruth with another—first to keep quiet about some things and then about others. We must speak about history as a whole. The people lived and worked each and every day of our past, and the people are the decisive category of history.

Considerable progress in elaborating the theory of perestroyka has been made. The decisions of the January and June Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and the Law on the State Enterprise have ensured the transition to the next stage.

The paramount importance of the processes taking place in the USSR for the destinies of world civilization has become clear. In conjunction with foreign policy initiatives, we now have the opportunity to change the situation on the planet for the better. Two years ago, when Soviet proposals defined the outlines of a non-nuclear and secure world, many regarded it as a utopia. Now there is no doubt that a realistic process aimed at improving the overall situation is underway.

Lastly, it has ben confirmed once again that only a party which is the political vanguard of society is capable of providing both theoretical and organizational advancement along the planned road. Another lesson has also been learned—the party cannot let itself lag behind the processes that are going on within society. The conclusions from this lesson have been drawn and have been learned both in the centre and in local places, though not everywhere and not to the end.

Much has been acquired in the past year and no major losses were sustained, said Mikhail Gorbachev in his introductory speech. But it is too early to say that the mechanism of braking has been smashed, for the country is only beginning to emerge from the period of stagnation.

During Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the USA, one Washington paper wrote with an offended tone: those who thought that Soviet society was more open than U.S. society were wrong. Let's not argue the point. Let's only grasp the essence of how the question is posed—it belongs to those who wrote all their lives about the "iron curtain" and the "closed Soviet society." But during this visit McCarthy, a prominent U.S. politician, who strives to strengthen relations between his country and ours, complained to Soviet writers and people in the arts who came to Washington that for two months he had held talks with THE WASHINGTON POST and THE NEW YORK TIMES in an effort to organize an exchange of editors with Soviet periodicals, but failed to achieve an understanding with his compatriots.

All people mark the march of time in a different way. I suppose these episodes testify to the swiftness with which we've started to travel along the road of glasnost.

From my notebook. Are there limits to criticism, glasnost or democracy for us? Gorbachev asks and answers: They are the limits of socialism, which means that criticism, glasnost and democracy are as boundless as socialism itself. We don't need alien standards. We've opened the most prohibited zone for democracy, the zone of economy. Where, in which capitalist country, do the workers elect directors of enterprises or discuss and adopt plans together? People can learn from us in this.

However, the participants in the meeting spoke less of achievements and more about what interested them. Above all—about using glasnost for aims worthy of it. Group interests, as before, make themselves felt in the press. A magazine or a newspaper is not the private affair of this or that editor. It was said in all seriousness at the meeting that no one has the right to add alien fuel to our bonfire of perestroyka.

From my notebook. Gorbachev told us that in one of the newspapers he read the declaration that we are going to publish only those whose position we share. Which means that this paper is the editor's property. And what sort of a publication is it anyway if it offers its pages only to unilateral opinions? We must unite around the people's destiny, rather than around someone's arrogant ambitions.

Genuine glasnost necessarily presupposes the unity of word and deed. As the speakers noted, the gap between the two generated a sort of tiredness among the people, for they didn't see the promised results for decades. But today, too, there are quite a few examples where glasnost can be likened to the extra steam which escapes through the whistle. Officials who had been publicly criticized and revealed as dishonest are being transferred from one place to another. Or, let's say, each line in an article is examined under a magnifying glass so as to find a trifling discrepancy and use this as a pretext to disprove the entire item. In short, methods are being elaborated so as to put both glasnost and criticism into the idling regime which will make them safer. No wonder it was said at the meeting that last year has, alas, confirmed what Lenin once said—the bureaucrat is our worst enemy.

But still Nikolay Sivkov, "The Arkhangelsk Muzhik," survived and stood his ground—he was remembered at the meeting. No matter how many times his team, which undertook to raise cattle on god-forsaken lands, was dissolved, he never gave up. He has now set up a five-man cooperative. Except that, to tell the truth, in my 35 years of work in the press I don't know any other example of PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, the TV, SELSKAYA ZHIZN or MN going to the defense of a single person due to a single local fact. Together we managed to protect perestroyka enthusiast. Maybe, the next time it will be easier.

And those who hindered farmer Sivkov in doing his job do not at all take themselves out of our time—far from it, they regard themselves as a real adherents of socialism.

From my notebook. Continuing the thought of the speaker who talked about the difficult life of the Arkhangelsk Muzhik, Gorbachev said that quite a few zealous adherents of socialism have come to the fore in our country.

They voluntarily take upon themselves the task of guarding it. But what has socialism to do with this? They are guarding the conditions which suit them.

Once there was a film. A soldier, made to stand guard at the time of World War I, doesn't know that the war is over. He spends five or ten years after the war standing guard, shooting at planes flying overhead and occasionally calling: "Halt! who goes there?" Even though no one has come there for a long time. Isn't this like those people who got waylaid at a far-off frontier of our history and continue to fiercely guard it to this very day? This is the case when the entire society is judged only by one's own self. If he didn't make an inch of progress in decades, he yearns to return everyone back to where he himself is. But then, when opinions were exchanged, other opinions were voiced—quite a lot was to be explained by plain envy of those who display initiative and are prepared to work hard; envy is a very serious thing, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee reminded the audience.

From my notebook. Gorbachev formulated the task for today: whatever works for the people's needs, for the bettering of their life is welcomed and supported. The country already has 13,000 cooperatives and 300,000 people are going into individual enterprise. Of course, these are small figures for such a country as ours, but these are only the trends that designate the processes that have already started.

As we know, Lenin returned from emigration to Petrograd in April 1917. At the time, observing the universal rejoicing on the occasion of the overthrow of tsarism, he wrote: "'Victory!' Hence... chaos of phrases, moods, 'exultations'..."

And he added the artless verse of a certain Ilya Ilyin:

"All like children! The day is so rosy!

"No night! There'll be no slumber!

"As though there were no frosts,

"As though spring reigns eternal!"

We can, probably, say something of this sort also about the mood that accompanied the start of perestroyka. And even though it was said from the very outset that this will be a prolonged affair and not so simple, still it seemed that the night was over and that there would be no more frosts.

Now, on the road from ideas to practice, from initial approaches to present-day work, from rosy concepts to profound struggle, we've accumulated know-how. We've got rid of unfounded expectations, of hurriedness when it seemed that there wouldn't be tomorrow and one had to say about everything at once. Gorbachev said that today we're different from who we were early last year.

The confrontation of different views on the rates and methods of perestroyka has intensified on the threshold of the second stage. This is only natural: the country has entered a phase of revolutionary changes and thus it is impossible to avoid a struggle of opinions. But this struggle is not a matter of contradictory class interests. The experience of the last year, by the way, confirms this. There were a number of arguments, but they were conducted from socialist positions. Very few groups, or rather individuals, tried to impose antiperestroyka views. And the habit of discussion got established, too—the clashes of conflicting opinions do not generate a panic as happened before.

From my notebook. Perestroyka is not an easy process, said Gorbachev. We're being criticized by both the left and the right. Some say that perestroyka stopped and it's time to reshuffle the personnel. They are the people who proved to be helpless, who were unable to shoulder the burden of everyday work which can bring the country out of stagnation. The right claims: socialism is perishing.

No, socialism is not perishing, it is squaring its shoulders. A blow is being dealt to the command-administer methods of management and to group interests.

When speaking of last year's assets we can remind people that it was a time of revealing genuine values. In methods of leadership, in the civic positions of your colleagues, in economic guests, in the highest politics and, of course, in the work of the press. The atmosphere of glasnost helped this—where there are frank arguments and sincere assessments, there is no room for bureaucratic authority.

Today we no longer believe that when an editor declares a paper is losing readers it is only because that paper is more serious and profound than the others. No, we don't believe this. It's not the point. The point is that it is impossible to work for people without taking into account their requirements. One mustn't look at them askance, thinking that they are interested only in sleazy innuendo, or empty sensations.

From my notebook. Gorbachev says that our people are among the most educated. They are extremely sensitive to lies. They are fond of the truth. If you speak the truth, you'll always be understood. We must show the real struggle that surrounds the processes going on now. The process of struggle—which makes it possible to achieve the goals we have set ourselves—is the positive experience of today.

This year there will be another considerable step in the development of socialist democracy. Its development in the Party and the state is the main job of the forthcoming 19th party conference. It will encompass a whole complex of problems—the electoral law, the court and control systems. The main task is to include the people in all the processes going on in the country. We are still struggling to reveal all the possibilities in our system and in socialist democracy, Gorbachev says.

The speakers also alluded to the inevitable problems caused by the transfer of most enterprises to new working conditions. We have not completely prepared everything for this. But postponing further the implementation of economic reform would be an unpardonable loss of time. The process has been started, it is going on and people are being reeducated en route. We must not only register their involuntary mistakes, but also try and help them along this very difficult road.

From my notebook. In his introductory speech Gorbachev said that if we stopped, it would be death, for we woundn't be able to get up a second time. During an exchange of opinions in response to a speaker's remark that "we must bring it home to everybody that perestroyka is our last chance"—Gorbachev repeated: "if we stop, it will be our death."

And he went back to the subject once more in his concluding speech: we will be flooded with problems—let's not panic—we must follow this road. Only he who doesn't do anything doesn't make mistakes. But that, exactly, is the biggest mistake.

Estonian Foreign Minister Describes Activities

LD201743 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Tallinn, 20 January, (TASS)—The specialists from the joint Soviet-Finnish enterprise, which is being set up here, have started working out a new trade route from Scandinavia to southern Europe via Soviet Estonia. The staff of the Estonian Foreign Ministry acted as experts in the working out of an agreement.

Estonian Foreign Minister Arnold Gren called the participation of the republican Foreign Ministry in the setting up of the joint enterprise "characteristic illustration of the processes of restructuring which are now under way in the ministry".

In a discussion with a TASS correspondent, Gren emphasized that over the last year the contribution of the republican body toward the widening of economic, scientific, and cultural contacts with the socialist countries and Scandinavian states has become considerable. "We analyze the foreign and domestic policy of the states which border on or are geographically close to Estonia, and then we present our proposals to the USSR Foreign Ministry, explained Arnold Gren.

Apart from this, Gren went on, the Estonian Foreign Ministry is involved in studying the state of affairs abroad. As an example he referred to the participation of the experts from the republican Foreign Ministry in the operation of the Estonian firm "Estimpeks", which was set up 1 year ago and which deals with organizing joint enterprises with foreign firms.

Together with the colleagues from Lithuania and Latvia, reported Gren, the Estonian Foreign Ministry is preparing to stage a scientific and practical conference, dedicated to the development of cooperation between the Baltic republics and the Scandinavian countries.

"Estonia, like other union republics, does not have its representation abroad. Exceptions are the Ukraine and Belorussia, which are UN members. However, there are quite a few diplomats from Estonia among the staff of the USSR embassies abroad," emphasized Arnold Gren, who a member of the Soviet delegation at three UN General Assembly sessions. Last year he was a head of the regional seminar-conference on the settlement of the Near East problem held in New York.

Reader Questions Honors For Brezhnev

AU210903 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 15 Jan 88 p 1

[Letter to the editor by D. Donskoy, war and labor veteran, CPSU member since 1943: "Named After Uritskiy or After Brezhnev?"]

[Excerpts] A long time ago a square was named after M.S. Uritskiy, who left distinct traces in glorious Kiev. There he graduated from the university, participated in the revolutionary movement, and for this was locked up in Lukyanovka prison, which counted among its inmates, among others who had fought for the people's happiness, V.I. Lenin's sisters and brother.

Through a decision by Kiev Gorispolkom, adopted without consulting the city's inhabitants, since 1983 the square has been named after L.I. Brezhnev. [passage omitted]

This has become customary with us: When a prominent figure dies, we perpetuate his memory in the names of cities, streets, or districts. But is this practice always well considered? Why should we do this by renaming, and not by giving names to new streets, squares, cities, and so forth. Must we do this in haste? These are the questions which have recently emerged among the public, in the press.

At the time when the aforesaid square in the Ukraine's capital city was renamed, the term "stagnation period" was not yet in use. But later on the inhabitants of Kiev, daily and hourly taking the trolley bus in the direction of Zhulyany airport, began to perceive the name of the "Brezhnev Square" stop in a somewhat painful way.

I do not pretend to evaluate L.I. Brezhnev's activity in an exhaustive way, but as a Communist I would like to reflect on it a little.

It is known that time is a reliable judge. The time that has passed since November 1982 has revealed many painful things in our society's recent past. It was quite natural that L.I. Brezhnev's role in our history became topical. What happened was that, in our imagination, there were two Leonid Ilichs. We knew him as an energetic young Communist at the renowned "Dzerzhinka," as a courageous political fighter during the war against fascism, as a talented and able party organizer in restoring the "Zaporozhstal" and the Dnepr GES.

But, as time passed, another L.I. Brezhnev appeared before us. When he received the second Hero's Gold Star, and after some time the third, we began to wonder. We were very surprised when he was presented with his fourth star. And there it was: he received the fifth. I remember one of my comrades from the front shouting: "But how long are they going to humiliate us! Why do those in Moscow permit such things? Why do we keep silent?" But in addition there were marshal's stars, and there was the "Victory" Order with diamonds, intended for the most prominent Soviet and foreign military leaders in World War II. Brezhnev was an officer, but he did not belong to them. Lenin did not have any awards, Stalin had 9 awards, and Brezhnev, according to incomplete data, had 120 of them. This was a world record! I have no idea how many of these awards were undeserved. But we all know that these awards were presented in the period of stagnation which engendered many backward steps in our lives. [passage omitted]

No matter how unpleasant it is, we must speak about this. I would like to know what Kiev Gorispolkom will have to say on this occasion.

Rumor of Mayakovskiy Exhumation Rebuffed

PM211313 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 88 First Edition p 6

[Reply by I. Nikorovich, in charge of the Youth Reception desk, to telephoned query, under the "Rumors Abroad" rubric: "What's the Point?"]

[Text] The other day the editorial office received a strange telephone call: "People are saying that Mayakovskiy's body has been exhumed at Novodevichye Cemetery to establish the cause of his death. Is this true?" the girl, a student from Moscow by the name of Konova, asked.

We put this question to S. Sosenkin, director of ritual services at Novodevichye Cemetery.

"Even if someone wanted to exhume the body it would be impossible," Stanislav Fedorovich answered. "After the poet's death the body was cremated."

It only remains to be guessed who is spreading such rumors. As the old saying has it: "Seek the one who stands to gain." But who stands to gain from this?...

Economic

Regionalization 'Prevents' Flexible Resource Use

PM211549 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 88 Second Edition pp 1,3

[Special correspondent A. Nikitin report under the rubric "Radical Reform: Problems of Management": "The Ministry Was 'Regionalized'"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk-Moscow—We are used to wheat or other plants being called regionalized, or adapted to certain areas. But now, probably for the first time in our economic practice, four "regionalized"—or rather, regional—construction ministries have appeared which divide the entire country into four parts. One of these is the former specialized Ministry of the Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises, which has been transformed into the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR. It is halfway between a ministry and a... construction "sovnarkhoz" [territorial administrative body introduced as part of 1957 economic reform]. How are things in this ministry?

First of all I went up the familiar stairs, which I have often used in the past, to the ministry's party committee. I was greeted by party committee secretary Aleksandr Ivanovich Chelnakov. The first innovation that struck me was the map of the country on which the boundary of the regionalized sector was outlined in Indian ink. This departmental area includes all the Urals, Western Siberia, and—for some reason—Krasnoyarsk Kray, which from time immemorial has been considered part of Eastern Siberia.

"Even schoolchildren notice that geographical mistake!" the secretary broke in. "As you can see, we have our own geography when it comes to the economy..."

[Nikitin] I understand you previously organized construction work in this kray. But surely you also had construction projects in Kursk Oblast and the Ukraine...

[Chelnakov] Nobody can now add Kursk or the Ukraine to Western Siberia...

[Nikitin] So what is considered to be the center of your present region, which is so remote and enormous?

[Chelnakov] What do you mean? Moscow is! The ministry has remained in its old premises to make it more convenient to keep matters under control...

[Nikitin] For whom? Siberian labor collectives?

[Chelnakov] No! So that it is more convenient for those in authority in the capital to keep us under control...

Of course, I initially thought this was a joke. But suddenly there was a ring—and Chelnakov rushed to the phone. The Moscow party gorkom was urgently requesting a list of vacant posts. Scarcely had he put the phone down than it rang again. A comrade of some authority was asking to meet with him and to have forwarded to him a question discussed that day by the ministry's collegium, since he had not had time to listen to everything. He would probably never get to Siberia for lack of time, but he did manage to get to a collegium meeting here, even though it was nearly over by the time he arrived.

Yes, Chelnakov's words were no joke. In any situation there are not only those who are managed but those who manage, and the pecking order starts "at the top." Talk about "democratic vertical management" remains wishful thinking. The upper levels of management take no account of "other people's" profits: Their own convenience in managing the components under their control is far more important to them. People make the arduous journey to Moscow from Krasnoyarsk Kray, which has been arbitrarily transferred to Western Siberia. People also go there from the ministry. Indeed, on average the trips have become more expensive. Cherepovets, Staryy Oskol, or Lipetsk could be reached for just R20 by train, but planes are needed to reach the Urals and Siberia. A visit costs R100-200. That is why the R77,000 allocated to the ministry for trips last year was not enough. There are no two ways about it: A ministerial apparatus is an expensive business. Around R3 million were spent on its upkeep last year. But even this management setup is temporary. The ministry where the "upheaval" took place 18 months ago is awaiting a new structure.

"We expected it last year, but we still haven't gotten it," party committee secretary A. Chelnakov said, "even though we are considered to be working under the new economically accountable conditions. All local collectives received the USSR Law on the State Enterprise in good time, but we in Moscow are again bogged down with another lot of restructuring. We've started the new year without any visible changes..."

I note that so far we have been talking about future structural changes. But actually there have been certain changes in work, and seemingly for the better. The scale and pace of work has increased and more projects have been commissioned. There are fewer loss-making trusts. While the plan in terms of funds spent was only fulfilled by 98% on the whole, the plan for the commissioning of housing was fulfilled for the first time last year, and the plan for the commissioning of schools was overfulfilled—although not everywhere. This cannot be left unexplained. Eighteen months ago, when the ministry was made regional, its usual construction program for plants, blast furnaces, and rolling mills was markedly watered down with social projects.

There was little hope of success at the time. One way or another the construction workers of the Urals and Siberia had gotten out of the habit of building housing and schools. The low cost of schools and hospitals undermined the gross indicators. When suddenly... But this sudden change did not emerge from ministerial offices, incidentally. Local party and soviet organs showed their mettle last year as never before. Carrying out the congress' decisions, stopping at nothing, and often organizing all-out "offensives," they managed to bludgeon the construction workers into fulfilling the housing and schools commissioning plan literally just before the year started.

On the other hand, many other projects were not salvaged. The plans for the commissioning of kindergartens, laundries, and sewn goods factories were not met. A most important order was not fulfilled: A powerful stainless steel cold rolling mill in Chelyabinsk was not commissioned. It was not in clearly not in vain that the recent ministry collegium hear a rejoinder from Minister S. Bashilov stating that his main administrations and trusts have a particularly hard time when the secretaries of party obkoms are former construction workers. They apparently act in their own way, that is, first and foremost they press for sociocultural and leisure facilities.

It turns out that "regionalization" has essentially not produced a new alliance between ministerial aspirations to report the expenditure growth rates provided by gigantic union construction projects and the reawakened desire of local organs to at least in some way improve the lives of their countrymen. This is why the same management organs make different contributions to different construction projects.

There is no particularly close relationship between the client ministries and the construction workers. Here is the opinion of L. Kozlov, USSR deputy minister of nonferrous metallurgy:

"I would term the structure cellular, since it severely limits our previous mobility and prevents us making flexible use of our finances, materials, and labor and other resources. Previously the Ministry of the Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises could, if necessary, strengthen its ranks of workers in Siberia or the Urals by redeploying subunits from the country's southern or central regions there on a temporary or permanent basis, for instance. This option no longer exists, and therefore construction projects in Siberia have started losing people..."

[Nikitin] What effect has this had at your construction sites?

[Kozlov] We literally tried everything to get the money to build particularly important projects in the sector. These are the fruits of last year: We only fulfilled the plan by 85%. Just think, we lost R358 million. In one of the two-bit ministries [chetvert-ministerstva] there was not enough capacity, even though they had received ample money; the second was short of materials; the third lacked manpower but had everything else; and the fourth, which seemingly had everything, was short of...our money. It is a shame that in 1988 the Central Urals Copper Smelting Plant in Revda will be just R5 million short of what it needs to complete on schedule a new smelting furnace which is ecologically highly clean. What a pity that the dream of having a single subcontractor has failed to materialize...

"What can we do?" V. Zabelin, deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR, complained. "When the ministry was 'regionalized,' we were not asked for our opinion. Now we also don't know what system we are being given. The law has given grass-roots collectives more rights, while we are seeing our last vestige of independence taken away from us."

[Nikitin] How's that?

[Zabelin] Very simple. The ministry now, as before, cannot influence state order plans, prices, or work schedules, since all this is handed straight down to the construction workers from the Gosplan and the USSR Gosstroy or else fed in locally. We, as an intermediate organization, have nothing left to do in this sense...

[Nikitin] Perhaps then your ministry is simply unnecessary? It could just as easily become the USSR Gosstroy main administration for the Urals and Siberia while retaining 14 construction main administrations and loads of trusts and associations locally.

[Zabelin] It wasn't our idea, you understand..."

So why did it happen? Just what has happened to the structure of management in construction? Unlike other sectors, it has by no means been simplified but has become more complex, superfluous intermediate bodies have appeared. If an ordinary team leader wants to reach the USSR Gosstroy he must climb his way through five extremely steep steps on the management ladder. Either the new regional ministries in Moscow are really unnecessary, or else these purely administrative two-bit ministries must be turned into something along the lines of economically accountable territorial construction "sovnarkhozes." But then local main administrations and their future deputies—the state production associations—would probably be unnecessary. In short, is it a case of choosing either one thing or the other?.

To seriously answer these questions specific research and in-depth economic analyses are needed. But nobody is seriously undertaking such research, and there is no time to do it.

One other thing in this situation is surprising. Restructuring for some reason starts with schemes and ends with.. schemes. People in this ministry are wondering how they will specifically define their new functions when they receive, either tomorrow or the day after, some new scheme from outside. Everything has been turned on its head. The structure will not be determined by the new economically accountable functions linked with the law that is now on the statute books, rather the functions will be molded to fit the scheme.

There is one other dangerously strange point—the rapid formalization of the restructuring process itself. The four regional ministries work, in general, under different conditions and their structures cannot be reduced to a common denominator or standardized. But there have already been attempts to do precisely that. The dogmatism of "cast-iron uninformity" dictates one thing, while life demands another—diversified management models at different levels in different territories. V. Zabelin's complaint, when he says that it would be better for the ministry itself to decide how many of which administrations to have, is quite understandable. For instance, they do not yet need an independent external relations administration. But on the other hand they desperately need—perhaps only temporarily—an additional sectorial administration to take account of the specific nature of Siberian construction sites and their incredible dispersion.

Incidentally, it is not essentially a question of the number of different kinds of administration. The nature of the quest for a structure for the ministry—both in 1986 and this year—shows that the concept of "administration" is being replaced, as before, by the concept of "subordination." However, these two concepts are not synonymous, if one bears in mind economic management methods rather than methods of management by pressure. At the moment many people are going into economic accountability while still administratively "constrained." The structure of the ministerial apparatus has not changed since the new year, despite the transition of almost all trusts to self-financing. Not a single state production association has been created and debates are still going on as to what form they should take in construction. The people in Tomsk, who were the first to switch their entire main administration to collective economically accountable contracts, did not panic. They did not wait for the "tail," "hands," and "legs" of the main administration to be cut off to make it fit into the state production association system.

But probably the hardest thing to take is the fact that the construction economy remains geared to expenditure. The more rubles that are "put to use" (read "spent") the higher the wages fund, labor productivity, and other indicators. That is why small-scale social construction projects are now economically disadvantageous for construction workers. On the other hand, large-scale earthmoving or the laying of very deep foundations are advantageous. This is graphically demonstrated in the example of the cold rolling mill in Chelyabinsk and other projects.

During the discussion of this question the ministry collegium turned unexpectedly into a kind of...camera club. Photographs were passed around. of what? Some showed the old streetcar line in Chelyabinsk, which has to be moved from the area of the construction work to a new site, but nobody will make a decision. The other pictures showed the foundations of buildings with no drives and no entrances. The photographs were needed because few of the Moscow collegium members have any idea about remote construction projects.

How did they react to the failure to commission projects on schedule? As before—by handing out reprimands and banging the table. Both in this instance and in others the sector headquarters had been overtaken by events. It was mainly a question of postscripts to various mishaps. The decisions were also stereotyped: They appealed once again to central organs to review the commissioning schedule. This means that expenditure will increase yet again. But in this instance the expenditure itself is not important for the collegium, it is important to obtain... permission for expenditure. Hence the poor sensitivity to saving resources both among those who do the construction and particularly among those in charge who consider money no object.

Wishing to clarify the situation regarding the relationship between two sectors—or rather, two ministers—S. Bashilov reminded the collegium about his recent debates with V. Dinkov, minister of the petroleum industry, who had called him many times urging him to hurry up with the commissioning of a kindergarten in Nizhnevartovsk. This was followed by a stream of apologies, promises, and rebukes. Yet the conversation could have been quite different. How? This was revealed by inspectors at the end of the year.

It turned out that the Nizhnevartovsk construction workers had spent almost a year erecting housing, kindergartens, and other projects for oil workers without financing from their customers. Some had forgotten, with others there was no time to insist. Consequently the construction workers were running a R10 million deficit of circulating capital. Nobody felt that anything had been lost or gained. So much for economic accountability Siberian-style! Or rather ministry-style. Take any minister who is "slightly in debt" and the conversation will turn to financial discipline, payment commitments, and other modern concepts from the economic lexicon of radical reform.

Although the idea is attractive, the creation of regional ministries has been conducted in a formalistic way, following old approaches. Now everything depends on the interests and competence of not just Siberian team leaders but also Moscow ministers. Ringing telephones and table banging ought finally to be replaced by economic levers. But are not those in administrative authority still a long way away from this—both literally and metaphorically? Closer professional communication is needed. Not only on Moscow staircases.

Even the small, though very painful, experience of the transitional period of reform shows that specific administrative decisions are probably better made by those who directly carry them out and are intimately interested in end results. What kind of results? Economic results above all. In this situation why should ministries themselves not turn into specific organizations for providing high-class economically accountable services?

Yeltsin at Gosstroy Review of 1987, 1988 Tasks

PM211321 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

["Own Information" report: "Conference at USSR Gosstroy"]

[Text] On 19 January this year a joint session of the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, chaired by Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers Yu.P. Batalin and I.S. Silayev, reviewed the results of the work carried out in the construction of machine building complex projects in 1987 and discussed the tasks for 1988.

It was noted that a breakthrough in the construction of machine building projects was achieved in 1987. The total volume of work carried out in the country as a whole increased by 13.4%. Construction complex ministry and department organizations exceeded their annual targets for the commissioning of social projects as follows: housing—5.5%; schools—30%; vocational technical schools—6.4%; preschool establishments—1.9%; hospitals—4.9%; polyclinics—9.3%.

The target for production capacities, however, was not met. Twenty-eight of the 186 projects which should have been commissioned under the 1987 national economic plan were not commissioned. The targets for construction work to be carried out for the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building were not fulfilled.

The conference defined the main measures to ensure the fulfillment of the 1988 targets and to eliminate the shortfall which built up in the construction of machine building projects in 1986.

Taking part in the conference were B.N. Yeltsin, USSR Gosstroy first deputy chairman and USSR minister, and USSR and union republic heads of ministries and departments.

Economist Outlines State Order Design, Reality

PM211315 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 2

[Economic review by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Kiperman: "State Order: The Design and the Reality"]

[Text] Moscow—For 1988 for the first time enterprises' annual plans have been formed with the issue of a state order to them. It has turned out that in many cases the first attempt has ended in failure. This must be admitted frankly. The earlier we do so, the earlier we will begin to put right what is emasculating one of the fundamental principles of the radical restructuring of planning and distorting very important provisions of the Law on the Enterprise.

It would seem that the essence of the state order and the general principles of its formation are defined clearly enough by the Law on the Enterprise and the Basic Provisions for the Radical Restructuring of the Economy. It has frequently been explained that it is a case of an order only for individual, most important, types of output of national economic importance or of individual types and groups of consumer goods. It has been pointed out that the enterprise's production capacities are not fully loaded with orders and we must defend "lebensraum" for financially accountable [khozraschetnyy] maneuver and for seeking independently which articles to produce and for whom. Only thus is it possible to break forever the pernicious trend whereby a large quantity of unneeded output is produced and there is a chronic shortage of the output which is needed.

What has actually happened in reality? **The ministries have succeeded without difficulty in putting the old content into the new name and under the guise of an order allocating enterprises the former plan for products mix. The very plan which in previous years has "ensured" us enormous accumulations of unused output and forced the economy increasingly to work for itself.**

This has been done by various means. For instance, the Law on the Enterprise states that the order is issued for the delivery of output. Note: for the delivery! That means that what is not to be delivered does not have to be included in the order. But with a firm hand the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry wrote into the state order for its plans the production of machining attachments and spare parts designed for... internal consumption. Many enterprises received an "order" for the production of castings and timber for their own shops and also for machine tools designed for the development of their own production facilities.

It would seem obvious that it is inexpedient to include not only internal plant turnover but even internal ministry turnover in the state order. But the habit of petty tutelage is strong! The drastically thinned ministry administrations and main administrations nonetheless mustered their strength and stuffed the enterprises' program with everything they could.

I did not say everything they could just for the sake of it. From the very term "order" it is obvious it is a case of an instruction to produce something. But these terminological niceties did not concern the planning services of, for instance, the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Power Machine Building: The lists they compiled included targets totally unconnected with the production and delivery of output. Thus, a number of enterprises of this sector received the "order" to reduce the proportion of workers engaged in manual labor, to increase the machinery shift coefficient, and so forth.

What is even worse, the order portfolios of many plants and factories were so stuffed with targets that there is no longer any possibility of closing them. For instance, the USSR and RSFSR ministries of light industry issued many enterprises with orders exceeding the 5-year plan's plan indicators for 1988. The USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry swamped the annual programs of its furniture associations. The entire 100% of the Kostroma automatic lines plant's plan is exhausted by the state order issued by the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry. It is not in vain that the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA editorial office is now receiving letters stating that the state orders not only leave no reserve of capacities but often exceed the enterprises' production potential.

Sometimes exceeding the permitted proportion of the state order in an enterprise's plan is of a concealed nature. The ministry somehow fails to notice the output which the collective must, in any case produce. For instance, spare parts for its equipment operating in the national economy, subassemblies for articles produced in cooperation with other plants, and so forth. If 80-85% of the capacities of such an enterprise are loaded with state orders then the remaining capacities will be used for "compulsory" production. Again there is no room to maneuver.

What does that mean? It means the principles of the economic reform are undermined: The idea of enterprises' autonomy in planning and consequently of enhancing their responsibility for work results is derailed. When it is impossible to form even part of the plan autonomously, you can urge the collectives as much as you like to display initiative, to work with clients, to study demand, and so forth—it will all remain futile. Because all this is no longer necessary. It is as clear as twice two is four that with this policy on the part of ministries the majority of enterprises will enter the 13th 5-Year Plan unprepared for economic accountability and work under the conditions of wholesale trade and direct ties.

I think we should not remove responsibility for what is happening from the immediate executives in the ministries who have compiled these lists of state orders. But we cannot put all the blame on them alone. Because there were people to check them and put them on the correct path.

Why were they not put on this path? Because the ministry leaders seem to have been concerned for just one thing: how to avoid "losing" volumes and tempo. This is now far from the first thing that plant and association directors are thinking about, their main indicator is the fulfillment of deliveries. That means, according to traditional ministry logic, such directors must be trusted even less than before. Only then will the sectorial headquarters, whose face is still determined by volumes and tempo, "look good." The fact that with these volumes and tempos a substantial proportion of output will again go into unneeded stocks is of no consequence. Administrative methods have the convenience that the blame for any disruptions can always be shifted onto the enterprises.

Well, we have looked at the ministries. But there are plenty more like them. Under the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on restructuring the activity of ministries and departments, the sectorial headquarters should coordinate the composition of state orders with the USSR Gosplan. There is a profound point here. In issuing an order, for instance, to the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry for the delivery of a certain quantity of induction engines, the Gosplan does not deal with specific enterprises. It does not see what proportion of a plant's program is taken up by the engines. That is the ministry's concern. If there were actually any feedback between the ministry and Gosplan, would Gosplan specialists not see such a quantity of absurdities in state orders for 1988? Would they not begin an in-depth check immediately?

What at first glance seems a small omission, a tiny deviation from the procedure established at the highest level, has acted like a pendulum and its lower tip has begun to destroy many legal foundations at enterprise level. The state order was conceived as an act of partnership in which two sides bear their share of responsibility. In reality the Izhorskiy plant in Leningrad, for instance, has received a compulsory target for the production of chemical equipment worth R2 million and a R0.5 million target for the production of plates for presses. But to this day it does not know who it is making them for and from what. Up to one-fifth of state orders are not backed up by material resources at other plants—and the client ministries bear no responsibility.

Nor will they be materially responsible when the output produced at their demand finds no sales outlet. Yes, there is a provision of the Law on the Enterprises which speaks of the managing organs' responsibility for unqualified instructions. But the forms of this responsibility, for an erroneous order for instance, have not been stipulated. So far the ministries are giving a hostile reception to any proposal to take away even a tiny proportion of compensation from the apparatus wages fund. They would like to shift the load onto another fund—a centralized one. Because it is formed from deductions from enterprises and the losses of one plant will thus be simply covered by the profit of others.. Everything as before. It is of no importance to the apparatus workers themselves.

The state order was conceived in such a way that the enterprise would be more interested in it than in direct orders from consumers. What remains of this interest? Just one thing: Under the state order there is a likelihood of "getting hold of" more resources in short supply. That is one more step back from economic accountability. It does not teach economic planners economic accountability but turns them away from it.

It is clear that an enterprise's annual plan assigned on this basis cannot be deemed satisfactory. Sometimes it is known that it cannot be fulfilled and sometimes it is better not to fulfill it—the losses to the coffers will be less. In my view we cannot manage without a tough revision of state orders. We must throw out all the chaff from them and count anew all those for which ministries are still only promising to "seek out" the inadequate resources. And, of course, we must not overlook the people who are to blame for the defects which have appeared in planning.

To ensure that there are fewer shoddy planners in the future I believe it is necessary to approve a provision on the state law. And to describe clearly in it the entire procedure for issuing orders, the sides' commitments, and forms of responsibility. People may object: We are beginning to generate instructions again, we are returning to the old ways again. But there is a mitigating circumstance here: This administrative act will be aimed against excessively zealous administrators. Against those who cannot be gotten by economic methods.

'Radical Reform' Program Discusses Gas Industry

LD210044 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 28 December devotes its "On the Road to Radical Reform" program to the gas industry's preparations for the shift to financial autonomy. Commentator Damir Belov presents the program.

As the program begins, officials are shown entering a conference room, which a caption identifies as "[illegible]ortage from the sector's headquarters." An electronic display on the wall gives data for plan fulfillment by the gas industry as of 7 December 1987: One column gives data for a 24-hour period, a second column gives data from the start of the month; both columns list the gas industry ministry and regional offices. Belov talks in general terms about the importance of the industry and notes that it is preparing to shift to financial autonomy.

V.S. Chernomyrdin, USSR Minister of the Gas Industry, is then shown addressing the meeting. He says: "Comrades, we have brought you together at this conference, taking into account that we are at the conclusion of a major stage in the life of our industry. Like the whole country—or many industries in our country—it is preparing to shift to new conditions of work, to financial autonomy, to self-financing." He goes on to describe in general terms the preparatory work that has been done and continues: "I must tell you that an analysis of our activity geared toward preparations shows there are still unresolved questions; everything has not yet been done, taking into account the fact there are enterprises in a diffucult financial position. We have some enterprises—

true, not many and we have definitely reduced their number—which are planned loss-makers or simply loss-makers. How are they to work in the new conditions?"

Video then cuts to a computer center and Belov notes that it receives information from over 180,000 populated points and can display data on the previous day's production and transport. "The industry's headquarters retains the strategic task of overseeing technical policy and the ideology of planning, while transferring tactical tasks to the enterprises and association themselves." A wall map of the USSR gas pipeline system is shown.

Video then shows V.A. Khrikulov, chief distribution officer, dealing by telephone with a reported pipeline fire in Uzbekistan. Belov enquires whether anyone would suffer financial penalties for this accident under the new system. He is told that there will be no penalities and the gas quantity will be made up for later.

Belov is then seeing talking to V.I.Khalatin, central distribution directorate chief, in front of a map of the USSR's gas pipeline system.

Belov says: "There are 185,000 km of gas pipelines."

Khalatin replies: "There are over 190,000 km of gas pipelines and over 40 million kw of capacities. The system is growing very quickly. It is a single technological organism which has no comparison in our country or throughout the world. It is often said in the newspapers and on television that it is a cheap fuel. It is not a cheap fuel. It was cheap when there were reserves in Shebelinka, in Krasnodar, in Stavropol. Today nature has hidden all the gas; we receive about 57% from West Siberia."

Belov continues: "I know that quite recently the central distribution directorate of the Ministry of the Gas Industry recorded the transport and extraction of 2 billion cubic meters of gas per day. In connection with this, I would like to ask you a question. Regarding restructuring and the ministry's shift to financial autonomy, what will happen to your relationships with the associations and the transport workers and extraction workers?"

Khalatin: "This is a rather complicated question. Perhaps for us in the central distribution directorate, this is manifested most distinctly in the centralized management of the unified system of gas supply. It may be profitable for an enterprise to sell gas in a particular region, but the country needs it to go to another place. So it turns out that what is advantageous to the country should be advantageous to the ministry and should be advantageous to the enterprise."

Belov: "Are there any complications or friction, attempts to apply pressure today?"

Khalatin: "There are such attempts being made. We shall not get out of this until we have all the rights. But from 1 January the heads of the chief directorates and associations say 'Just wait, Vladimir Ivanovich, just wait until 1 January and then we shall see.' But life is life and, I repeat, to work under the new conditions great competence is needed. We have mastered the law, but how we shall implement it in practice, how it will go, what frictions there will be, what will need to be amended, we cannot yet say."

The video then cuts back to Minister Chernomyrdin addressing the meeting. He says the ministry as a whole has no serious financial problems but individual enterprises may have.

Video then cuts to a room where Belov is having a discussion with officials who had been at the meeting addressed by the minister. A.R. Atadzhanov, Uzbektransgaz Association head, reports that in the past year the heads of enterprises in his association had disposed of R180 million worth of fixed assets which were producing no return and had reduced the number of employees by about 2,000, including 450 administrative workers. The general directors of Surguttransgaz and Severgazprom enterprises complain that they have not been given sufficient independence in distributing the profits they earn. Yu.M. Krikorov, head of the ministry's directorate for labor organization, wages and cadres, retorts that they have misunderstood the documentation.

Video cuts to an office where Belov has the following discussion with Krikorov:

Belov: "Is there any resistance from the people in the localities today?"

Krikorov: "I would not say resistance. I would say that people are now getting there. You know, a year ago we held a series of major conferences throughout the country; we assembled all the general directors and all the economic services."

Belov: "I know you have recently been on trips all over the country."

Krikorov: "A year ago we held conferences and we have just held some now. I must say there has been a complete transformation. People have begun thinking in a completely different way. In the past everyone just said 'give, give, give.' There was no other word. The reserves of all sorts of resources were added to and added to. We are an industry which is developing dynamically and bringing great progress to the national economy; and we were refused virtually nothing. But this 'give' led to us having a lot. So we were getting the wrong lesson for a long time. We were not being taught thrift. Those leaders who have now understood this—and you know we are a young industry, 30 years old; our leaders are not yet old—those who have now understood this will remain and will become better leaders. But I think that not all the leaders will go further. This may be understood in a negative way, but it is a very serious matter, the shortage of leaders of this sort."

Belov: "Yuriy Mikhailovich, one last question, also an important one. What will happen to wages in connection with what is happening?"

Krikorov: You know, Damir Nikolayevich, last year in connection with the well-known decision issued in September on improving the organization of wages payments—it is a decision which had been awaited for a long time which has been very intensively discussed at the State Committee for Labor and at other conferences—there were all sorts of arguments. Finally the decision was issued and it is precisely what is needed now in conditions of the new economic mechanism. It has untied the hands of everyone in the production collective and untied the hands of heads of enterprises as far as paying wages according to the work done, in accordance with the basic principle of socialism, is concerned.

"What is so fundamental in this decision is that for the first time in all these years—and many such decisions have been issued in the past—but this is radically different from them, in the first place in that a workers' collective must earn in full the resources before instituting a higher rate for wages and salaries. Secondly, there has been a considerable widening in the differentiation in wages for workers and for engineering and technical staff."

Belov: "Larger differentials have been introduced."

Krikorov: "Yes, permission has been given to make extra payments to workers for a high level of professional skill of up to 24% of the wage rate, and to engineering and technical staff of up to 50% of their salary. This is the upper limit, which in general greatly broadens the opportunities for wage payments."

It is no longer necessary to reward good workers by moving them into administrative posts, Krikorov adds.

Video then shows a computer room, as Belov reflects that eventually computers may eventually store data on workers' potentials but their fates will continue to be decided by other men.

Belov is then shown talking with G.B. Petelin, head of the ministry's Directorate for Leading Cadres. The latter says that he expects most workers to be assessed objectively. Some managers are insufficiently educated or experienced for their posts. He says: "The reduction in staff will result not simply in a reduction of the apparatus, but a strengthening of it. There will be a renewal of its top echelon and middle echelon. There are great difficulties for me here. We do not know people sufficiently well, the specialists. We make too little use of the aktiv to study the question of forming a reserve of cadres. With this aim, the directorate has drafted a special questionnaire on which each leading official in the central apparatus can express his opinion on a reserve, from the head of any directorate right up to the minister."

Video then cuts to Belov interviewing Ye.K. Selikhova, ministry's Economic Planning Directorate head. She says that the new norms have been drafted, agreed upon and communicated to the enterprises. She says: "We have all now come to the conclusion that in addition to what has been done, it is necessary to introduce some factors to stimulate cost cutting. Therefore, we are now coordinating methodological provisions which would provide an incentive for enterprises to save on expenditure, in gas extraction, in gas transportation, and in the construction of wells. The methodology of this question is very simple. If costs are cut compared with the plan, the economic incentives fund is increased. We also have great hopes for elaborating a methodology to reduce the use of gas for internal needs, which should help us to save on these costs. That is, savings on the norms for gas consumption will be encouraged; overexpenditure will be punished economically."

Belov notes that he has been present in the ministry for over 2 days and people are becoming more and more cheerful. He wonders if this means all is going well. Selikhova replies that the new system has only got as far as the associations so far, while it is the grassroots response which will produce results.

Video then cuts to R.I. Byakhirev, USSR Gas Industry first deputy minister, talking to Belov. Byakhirev says: "In my opinion, the main question now is precisely the human factor—the main question of restructuring for us in the ministry, for example. Of course, a number of questions need to be polished up a bit, including some norms need polishing up one place or other; costs need to be looked at for one enterprise or other. The main issue is that people should feel restructuring in their hearts."

Video cuts back to Chernomyrdin addressing a meeting, while Belov cites the proverb that only he who does nothing makes no mistakes. "Analyzing the final days of preparations, the Gas Industry Ministry well understands its responsibilities, as Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin stressed, for the reliability and stability of the work of the industry," Belov concludes.

Agricultural

Committee Notes Shortfall in Seed Supply

LD212114 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The preparation of seeds for spring sowing continues in the country. According to figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics, many of the country's farms do not as yet have a sufficient quantity of sowing material. Of the 8.5 million tonnes of early grain crops that are necessary for sowing, 1.25 million tonnes have been selected. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are making a poor selection of seed from the elevators, which is impermissible under conditions of financial autonomy and self-financing. Some republics have failed to supply the state with seeds of oats and a number of oil-bearing crops. For example, the Russian Federation has met the plan for procurement of oat seed by 41%, Georgia by 29% and Kazakhstan by 9%.

Media Report 16-21 Jan Agricultural Developments

LD220253 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 16-21 January. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

16-20 Jan

No file worthy items monitored.

21 Jan

Harvesting of cucumbers has started at the hothouse combine of the 'Industriya' subsidiary farm of the 'Apatit' production association in Murmansk. The first hundreds of kilograms of produce have been obtained. The progressive technology of cultivating cucumbers has been introduced with the assistance of scientists of the polar experimental station of the All-Union Institute of Crop Husbandry. The hothouses have been equipped with special lamps for illumination making it possible for the plants to develop normally under the conditions of the polar night. (0300)

Kirghizia's crop farmers have completed the preparation of seeds for spring field work. All of them have been brought up to high sowing conditions. This year grain and cereal crops will be sown to an area of over 320,000 hectare. On 60,000 of them grain will be cultivated according to intensive technology. (0304)

The plowing of snow into ridges has been completed in the oblasts of the virgin lands in Kazakhstan over the whole area alloted to cereals covering 15 million hectares. The area of cereals cultivated under intensive farming methods is being doubled here in the virgin lands.

Military

More on Yazov, Authors' Meeting

OW220857 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2215 GMT 16 Jan 88

[The following is the text of the recorded "I Serve the Soviet Union" program video report on a "Meeting between Army General Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of defense, and writers;" held at the USSR Ministry of Defense on 15 December 1987. The report was previously published as "excerpts" in the 20 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT p 73]

[Text] [Announcer] Major General Aviation Arseniy Vasilyevich Vorozheykin, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, illustrious ace, and writer, once made the following observation about the work of a writer: I worked both in the country and the city, as a sailor on the Volga, and took part in many a battle; but still I never had such a difficult and exhaustingly meticulous job, demanding so much knowledge and such powers of observation. I think that if you disregard the constant proximity of death, it is far easier to carry out two or three dozen aerial battles, to shoot down several enemy planes, than to write a short book on the experienced events.

The same could be said by any one of these people who gathered at the USSR Ministry of Defense and Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy on 15 December 1987. [Video shows Yazov speaking to several writers, including V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Union of Writers] A meeting was held here with writers working on topics of heroism and patriotism. The man in uniform who came to the defense of the conquests of October, and his heroic destiny became an object of close attention for the young emerging literature. The fighting man of the Red Army matured in battles for the Land of Soviets. Alongside him, literature gained strength and mounted the heights in the topic of heroism. In turn, it appealed to new generations of fighting men to scale the heights of heroism. By their example Chapayev and Korchagin tempered the fighting man who persevered in the fierce struggle against the enemy during the years of the Great Patriotic War.

The roads of war. Many writers traversed them in battles and experienced their burdens in full measure, the burdens of the difficult military task. Their road to victory passed through the grief of losses. Not everybody was fated to live to this joyful day. Many writers fell on the roads of war. But those who were fated to live swore to describe the entire truth about that frightening and great war.

Yes, for many of them the roads to this meeting lay through war. This was a meeting of friends and like-minded people. The discussion centered on the high responsibility of literary workers in the cause of military and patriotic education of youth.

Unfortunately, today there are few good books on the contemporary Army. This was stressed in his speech by Army General Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of defense. Colonel General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov [deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy] spoke about this, as did Vladimir Vasilyevich Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Union of Writers. Speeches were also made by writers Grigoriy Baklanov, Aleksandr Prokhanov, Mark Gallay, poet Yevgeniy Dolmatovskiy, Feliks Kuznetsov, poet Yegor Isayev, and others. Today we bring you segments from this meeting, this frank discussion. [Video cuts to show writer A.B. Chakovskiy speaking at the meeting]

[Begin recording] [Chakovskiy] This is the question of the contemporary Army. Comrades, there is one thing that bothers me. I do not wish to exaggerate this, but recently, sometimes in magazines, and at other times in books, we have found stories on the contemporary army in which internal military life is depicted in a most unsightly way. I am right, am I not? This could lead to very unpleasant results—a diminished desire to serve in the Armed Forces, a burning desire to be done with the service, and so forth. This, comrades—though I don't wish to frighten anyone or present this as the number one danger, for there are other dangers that are more real—is undoubtedly a danger. Therefore I would like to call on the Main Political Directorate and the authors themselves—this depends on us primarily—not to forget that historically the Armed Forces have always been sacred to us.

[Yazov] We are not avoiding this question. But let us first allow Comrade Volkogonov a word and later we will return to this question. [Volkogonov] You have noticed that often the press, television, and the authors themselves depict our contemporary army in terms of gigantic cigar-shaped ballistic missiles, flashing screens, super powerful motors. Indeed, all this is true. The wave of scientific and technical progress has captured our imagination. The military has changed, as has the soldier. The man in uniform has also changed. These changes are the result of the changes in society on the one hand—the only thing that remains eternal in the world is constant change itself—and the changing functions of the Soviet Armed Forces, on the other hand. These functions have become enriched. We used to constantly say in the past that the Soviet Armed Forces exist for the defense of the socialist fatherland. Indeed, this remains the Armed Forces main function to this day. But at the same time, today the Soviet Armed Forces also exist for the defense of the socialist community, a role that is being fulfilled by the Soviet Armed Forces in conjunction with the fraternal countries. Appropriately, the Soviet Armed Forces also exist for the purpose of rendering help to progressive regimes and national liberation movements. Most important, though, is the fact that for the first time in history the Army has become not an instrument of force but an instrument for peace. The role of the Army today, its most important role—on a par with the defense of the realm—is the preservation of peace. Therefore, the changing function could not avoid leaving its imprint on the soldier—on the man in uniform.

What then is the social profile of the contemporary soldier? First of all is the Armed Forces' social composition, which naturally, is the same as for the rest of our society. It should be noted, however, that a considerable number of people never enter the Army, they never serve, never in their whole lives. Forgive me for the expression, they have never worn a pair of military pants. There is such a category of people.

We certainly have problems which point to the fact that not all is satisfactory in the soldier's character. We have instances which we shamefully call irregular behavior [tak nazyvayemyye neustavnyye vzaimootnosheniya]. In essence these are twisted relations between servicemen with varying levels of seniority. Yes, this problem did not occur yesterday. It occurred some 25 years ago. At the beginning it was not of a malignant nature—more like a form of hazing after the young soldiers have been sworn in. Gradually, it acquired the force of tradition. The secret of any tradition is in the information which is passed on from generation to generation, from call up to call up. This tradition became so refined that now, in some units, on some ships—I wish to stress that this is not the case everywhere—quite often long serving soldiers are attempting to palm off some of their difficult or unpleasant duties on to the shoulders of the young soldiers. At the same time they propagate a simple ideology: Your turn will come. Often this translates into insults against human dignity, rudeness, and even various physical encounters and conflicts.

It would be wrong to say that we are not struggling against this. But I emphasize that without all of us participating—in the family, school, on the production line—this problem is extraordinarily difficult to solve. Here we are faced with cultural interrelationships, problems associated with glasnost and, I would even say, the inculcation of self-esteem, the role of the family, and parents. These problems are being solved.

As you see, I only touched on several aspects. We have many problems. Literature, real literature, cannot exist without the presence of conflict. Conflicts, including those in the Army, do exist. There is an opinion that it is difficult to write about the modern Army because there are no conflicts in it. Yes, art cannot exist without conflicts. We have our conflicts. The greatest conflict was discussed here in the beginning. Just look, today the Army stands on the borderline separating life from nonexistence. Life is everything: It is the sunlight on your grandson's face, it is the rustle of rain drops, and it is burden of fatigue after work. Nonexistence is an asphalt desert waiting for us if we are not ready. Indeed, the main thing lies in the fact that our readiness is the deterrent force.

Today, the term deterrence itself has been stigmatized, but today, when no political mechanism for curbing war is available, we, in reality, have no other option but to resort to the military mechanism. I would like our esteemed authors to understand this better as well. In conclusion, I wish to say that in illuminating our Armed Forces, it is important for us to stress that there is only one truth, be it for a soldier, a marshal, or a general. This is discussed quite often and ignoring it could lead to incorrect political decisions. One further point: It is sometimes said somewhat scornfully that literature on the contemporary Army is little more than bureaucratic literature. But surely, has the defense of the fatherland ever been a departmental matter? It is not simply a matter for the Ministry of Timber Industry. The defense of the fatherland was, and remains, our national and sacred cause. This is what Comrade Chakovskiy spoke about. This is all I have to say.

[Yazov] Thank you. [Video cuts to show Karpov speaking at the podium]

[Karpov] Dear Comrades. First of all I would like to note the timeliness and need for our meeting today. It would seem that Chakovskiy even raised the question, that this supposedly does not relate to literature, that we have heard all this...but I think this is a necessary thing, necessary reports, and needed information which show broadly the work that we as writers are involved in, what enormous tasks are being solved by the Armed Forces. It shows that behind all these figures, warheads, and battleships are people, and people are the sphere of our work. Therefore we must understand these scales and this should instill a feeling of responsibility in us.

Perestroyka is taking place in the economy, in politics, in the social spheres. If it could be said that the results of these changes in industry and agriculture will be felt in 5 or 10 years, then we, as authors, have already benefited more from perestroyka than any other sector. We have acquired the main thing, and we did not have to wait until the end of perestroyka to acquire it: glasnost.

There is a great deal to be found in the life of the military—adventure, the joy of service, heroic deeds both in time of war and peace, the strength of military friendship, and mutual help. All this exists today. Nothing needs to be invented, or made more presentable or palatable. What is more important is that the time has arrived when it is possible and indeed necessary to forcefully write about this. Thank you for your attention. [Video scans the gathering, then shows Baklanov at the podium]

[Baklanov, writer] We are being called toward great aims. Only a politically and morally unified people can fulfill great aims. I wish to say the following concerning this. Many of the things said here today are true. All our deeds, and not just literature, contribute to education.

Right now, our soldiers are returning from Afghanistan. I keep getting letters from the invalids, from the wives of those killed. We are treating them poorly, even shamefully [nekudyshno]. When we [Soviet World War II veterans] returned as invalids, some with serious, others with less serious disabilities, the nation was in a terrible state; there was no one there to rebuild, and we had to do everything ourselves. But this is not the case now. When there is lack of attention for even one invalid or to the widow of even one fallen soldier, this too educates the young. But not in a desirable way. This requires the most serious attention. [Video abruptly cuts to show writer Viktor Rozov speaking from the podium]

[Rozov] What can we use to educate the younger generation? In patriotism for example. Education should begin from the nursery and end at the cemetery. When everything has been put in its proper place, then this will be the most important thing. Possibly even before the nursery, when marriage is still being discussed so that the birth of a complete child rather than of a halfwit or freak can occur.

Now this Army, which is living at peace like the rest of us, this Army must also engage in this, and all of your departments of propaganda, agitation, all must direct efforts at this side of life. So our entire life, we, we writers must now understand our great responsibility for education, our responsibility for the new direction. Then a spark will appear in the eyes of our youth, they have it. [Video abruptly cuts to show Prokhanov speaking]

[Prokhanov] I think that we are now experiencing a moment when culture must come to the aid of all (?sectors) of the Army without delay. Attacks by certain sectors of our culture on the Army are, in my opinion, shameful. This is because our contemporary repentant culture, which has been genuinely repentant for its role in these years of stagnation, cannot be compared with the Army which during the same period of so-called stagnation managed to achieve military-political and strategic parity with the United States. We have nothing to blame the Army for. The Army is now in need of moral support. A certain section of our intelligentsia quite sincerely—and this is perhaps a good thing—is attempting to present the Armed Forces and its representatives as a conservative element that encompasses the internal opposition to the dynamic processes we are now experiencing.

A certain number of our intellectuals are appropriating achievement of the reduction of intermediate-range missiles to themselves, and argue that the growth of pacifism and peacemaking awareness is responsible for wrestling the missiles from both the Americans and our own military. This is not the case. I think it is essential in culture, as well as in military propaganda, to develop several positions, completely obvious and precise positions. The first position: Disarmament—possibly total disarmament, if it will occur—will proceed and is proceeding with the direct participation and control of the Army, insofar as the Army and the defense sector [oboronshchiki], have created this megamachine of rivalry. Only they know its arrangement, its terminals, its levers, and its wheels. Removal of the Army from the process of disarmament is impossible. It is senseless. Disarmament is being carried out by the hands of the same people in the defense sector and the military who created this machine. This is why this is so.

The second position: Disarmament became possible—even this miserly disarmament—only owing to the fact that military-strategic parity was achieved. Only because of this. In other words, all of these years, while possibly we caroused, wandered about, and wrote false tales over which we are now repenting, while we were creating this gray literature, the defense sector was building parity in invisible zones, with invisible defense efforts, huge efforts. We bow in gratitude to them for this. [Video briefly shows Yazov taking notes with G.M. Markov, chairman of the USSR Union of Writers, sitting on his right, then cuts to show writer Mark Gallay speaking]

[Gallay]I think it would be naive to think that the processes which are now under way throughout our whole country have no relation to our Armed Forces and that our Armed Forces can be imagined as a kind of island which is somehow being washed but not inundated by waves of glasnost and even democratization—despite the existence of military discipline. These are vital processes for any organism of our country, including the Armed Forces.

I think Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov noted quite correctly that problems will not disappear just because we stop speaking about them. The problems exist and they should be discussed. If an interesting—from my point of view—novel by Yuriy Polyakov: "One Hundred Days Before the Order," appeared, one should not consider that this novel has depicted everything our literature can say about the Armed Forces. This novel, however, did undoubtedly present something truthful. Finally I want to say that the Great Patriotic War topic has not disappeared and it will not disappear for a long time yet from the cause of patriotic education. [Video shows writer Feliks Kuznetsov on the podium]

[Kuznetsov] Comrade Minister. I would like to say that in view of the new world situation, military-strategic doctrines are being reconsidered and redefined. I think the time has come to also somewhat reconsider and redefine the doctrine, rather the concept, of military-patriotic education. I say this in the sense that a certain, pardon me, departmental narrow-mindedness should be rejected and overcome. Now you are doing this yourselves when you say that military-patriotic education begins in the family. Extremely complex processes are under way in the social conscience, public conscience, mass psychology, and, in particular, in the psychology of our youth.

Today Comrade Volkogonov made a wonderful speech. I like to listen to him and to read his works. He has an excellent article on Stalin published recently in the newspaper. But Comrade Volkogonov, I shall allow myself to disagree with you, as a philosopher with a philosopher, on one position. You said: There is nothing eternal, only change is eternal. I have heard this twice from you now. You are right in the cosmogonical sense. Of course, from the cosmogonical point of view nothing is eternal, only change exists. However, from the point of view of social life, there are eternal truths; eternal moral truths and eternal social truths. If we deprive society of these—and I in no way am suspecting you of this as I understand that your position is close to my own point of view, I am only rejecting this formula which is not very suitable for a polemic, not with you, but with prevailing trends. You see, if we in our literary life, in our literary endeavors, behind our writing tables, if we should forget the formula: Give me a foothold and I will turn the world upside down; and if we loosen, destroy, or shatter this foothold in our passion and haste towards the truth, we will commit a huge lie. [Video then cuts to show Yegor Isayev speaking]

[Isayev] First there was the February Revolution, then the October Revolution, followed by the Civil War. They say the Civil War ended in 1922. This, I think is the official version. If we were to take the broader view, then, perhaps as late as 1924, or thereabouts, battles were still being waged in Central Asia against the Basmatches [counterrevolutionary bands]. Therefore, 10 years of destruction and no rebuilding at all. Transportation was destroyed, fields left unkempt; there were many graves, many wounded, many killed. Ten years in a row.

The Revolution inherited an economy totally destroyed. The Great Patriotic War lasted for 4 years. Total destruction. If we include Halhin Gol and the war with Finland, another year, then the total is 5 years. Thus, we had 15 years of destruction. Let us think about it. If we were to be given grenades, how long would it take to destroy a beautiful, large building. If there was a large number of grenades it could be done in a day. But how long would it take to have this building restored? Three years at a minimum. Forty-five years were devoted to destruction and rebuilding. Out of the 70 years we had only 25 peaceful years. This notwithstanding, we are at the same level as America — the most powerful country on earth that had robbed the world the most. A country that has earned $500 billion on this.

Dear friends, I am speaking about our historic dignity. Yes, our idea, the most moral idea in the world, has conquered. We won by our unity, we won by our ability of self-sacrifice. We overcame the opponent. We also scored a victory by our unbending nobility.

In ending my short speech, dear friends, let me speak about dignity. Dignity is particularly necessary when speaking about peace. Yes, we are armed. You must understand that this hand that can hold a hammer can also hold a weapon. But this hand can also shake the hand of a partner. Therefore, I think that the peaceful initiatives are, my dear friends, the victories of our dignity. [Video shows Yazov on the podium]

[Yazov] Esteemed Comrades, it was you, the authors, who began the discussion about patriotic education, and I am sincerely grateful to esteemed Comrades Yuriy Bondarev, Vasiliy Belov, and Valentin Rasputin who, by their article "Is It Easy to Be Young?" have provoked a discussion by a large number of Soviet participants—the young, adults, adolescents, and the middle-aged. Everyone is now debating this topic.

Indeed, is it easy to be young when, during the course of a day, a person is subjected to a landslide of information, making it difficult for a young person to select all that is needed for his education, with the result being that he takes everything indiscriminately? Under these conditions we should discuss what kind of information is desirable—books, poetry, stories, what should be presented on television.

What does Ryazanov [not further identifie] say? He was asked: Do you believe in God? He tried to wiggle out: You know, it is not that I believe... I am an atheist myself, but, ... you know, I believe in something.

Can one educate the young, growing generation on this basis? Should we really be starting with the gods? When the church was strong, Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, together with Lermontov, was burnt in the fiery furnace—those who have visited the Kazan Cathedral would have had the opportunity to see this. [Yazov is referring to a well-known painting] And now we have Ryazanov himself. This man did not serve in the Army, everything seems to have been easy for him, and he thinks that this is the way we can educate people. Now the matter lies not only in a military-patriotic education in general, but primarily in the education of the youth, and getting the youth accustomed to work.

Some comrades were quite correct in what they said: Some families have one child, some have two, but that is the maximum. They do not get their children accustomed to work, nor to anything else for that matter. So then the children do not want to do anything anywhere, including the Army. But in the military, there is equality among soldiers, and in the main, irregular treatment is directed primarily against those who do not want to do anything. We are constantly studying this question. The problem is not with the excessive incidence of irregular treatment in the Army, but in the number of literate people who later write about this. I receive letters daily—hundreds, even thousands of them. We analyze these letters and visit these places, and nothing is confirmed. Merely the fact that someone has written about something does not make it true. Some people write merely to make their mothers weep, to make them visit. They write that they are beaten unmercifully—and she rushes over and spends money unnecessarily.

Some men do not want to serve. It is hard, and he has not seen anything in his life, nor experienced anything. So what kind of young people are we raising? I am not saying he is not a patriot; he is not even a man yet. He is a person who is afraid to do something, to do something for himself. He is afraid to get his hands dirty.

Aleksey Markov wrote some very fine words. By the way, I should say that in the Army we try to develop a taste for literature in our officers and at the same time, to make use of literature in all its might so as to educate the people. Well, Aleksey Markov wrote the following:

Listen, mate, are you safe on your road?

For your mistake or blunder

You will not always find indulgence

Of your friends or acquaintances.

One should be ready, my friend

A misstep is sometimes not forgiven,

Like that of a sapper, who chanced

To misstep in a minefield.

Today we are having a candid discussion on political, organizational, or any other topics, so I will be frank with you: Do not think everything is so bad in the Army. We are not saying that all is well. Ideally, we do not even want to have isolated cases of deviation from the norm and such things. But I would like to answer Aleksandr Borisovich Chakovskiy that we do not sentimentalize in the Army; those who break the oath of enlistment or the law are subject to a trial. We try, however, to educate. We remember the party has instructed us that the Army is a school of education, and we must educate. One cannot, however, educate people in a vacuum. Education should be implemented by means of certain tools. And we continue to regard literature as the main educational tool. How did the book by Vladimir Vasilyevich Karpov, "The Eternal Battle", help me personally in my practical activities? I noticed that in the military districts where reader conferences on the book were held, the discipline among the officers and in the regiments was generally higher. How is this explained? Simply, to make daily demands—come on, come on, come on—is, apparently, not as effective as example and experience. While we are speaking about the experience of the Great Patriotic War, all of you were quite correct in saying that this experience should be used more effectively, in particular for the education of the younger generation. Yegor Aleksandrovich Isayev correctly said: We have only had 25 years to build. Yet, today we speak about parity with the United States. In what way did parity become a burden for the people? Because of the high price of technology, and the main goal is to have the kind of Armed Forces capable of guaranteeing peace. This then is the task.

One, however, may have the technology, but not have selfless and loyal people. The danger lies in the fact that this selflessness and loyalty could be eliminated by such discussion of eternal truths.

I think this is our common task. It is the task given by the party. To educate people, to cultivate in them, primarily, the belief in their own power, in the might of the power of our socialist state, the superiority of the socialist regime over the capitalist.

Patriotism—this word is derived from the word patria, meaning motherland. When we speak about patriotism, we speak about cultivating the love of the motherland in the people. This is what we should talk about.

Lieutenant Aleksandr Stolba, a young man, a graduate of the Kiev School, served in the Central Asian District. He met a girl, and after 6 months was sent to Afghanistan. He gave his life to save his platoon. Who loved this Aleksandr Stolba most? Apparently, it was his mother. His mother came to Alma-Ata especially to see the girl her son loved. I asked her whether the money spent was warranted. She replied: I wanted to see what kind of taste my son had. Is not this a topic for an author? Is not this a topic for education?

Imperialists dream of a situation where our country has no Koshevoys and Kosmodemyanskayas [heroes of the Great Patriotic War]. They were deeply insulted when Nadya Gurchenko closed the door to the cockpit [during a hijack attempt]. They are deeply insulted when our young men, if need be, fight to the last man in Afghanistan.

Some journals attempt to bite the Soviet Army whenever they can. Here is an issue of OGONEK. [Yazov points to an issue of OGONYEK and then begins criticizing a story carried in it about a private named Kolya] "Here is to..." —a habitual toast of an alcoholic. What obscenity! Why was it necessary to connect this alcoholic to a general? "Here is to the shoulder-boards [epaulets] of a general" was Kolya's standing joke about life. "Life is like a general's shoulder-boards—not a single bright stripe to be seen anywhere." [Referring to the absence of gold stripes on a general's epaulets] Kolya is usually proud: "The shoulder-boards are clear, and my conscience is clear," he says [referring to the fact that Kolya is a private and there are no epaulets on his uniform]. He does not toady to anybody.

What has all this got to do with an alcoholic and a general? Is there an OGONEK representative present? Are you ashamed? I think that the OGONEK people, if present... [Yazov interrupted by applause]

As in any trade, both the Army and literature need experts. Robert Rozhdestvenskiy [a poet] wrote about experts, and he said very well: They learn a bit and know a bit, they sow a bit and reap a bit, they explain a little and conserve a little. An approximate skill is similar to a house built carelessly—sooner or later it will get its revenge on the careless builder and collapse.

Education resembles the house built in a hurry. We build something carelessly and present something. A person remembers this; he goes away thinking one can avoid serving in the Army, one can do without this. In the Army one will be subordinated to others, but if one avoids it, he will be free all the time. This is how some young men argue, and some avoid being called to the Army.

A decision was made to call up students of tertiary education [for military service]. Look at the way LITERATURNAYA GAZETA burst forth: Oh my God, if one is to serve as a soldier, then he will never be a mathematician! He [Yazov points to one of the authors present] was a soldier and became an author. Many of you were first officers and soldiers, and then later became authors. "He will not be a mathematician or scientist; he will not be this or that!" [mimics LITERATURNAYA GAZETA]

I ask you, at what was the propaganda of the imperialist states directed immediately after the war? At tearing off the laurels of our victory—is this not so? We aided them in this and are still doing so. Many tremble with excitement when they get hold of a fact: Now I shall give one to them! [interrupted in mid-sentence by break in transmission]

I am grateful and thankful to the many comrades for their criticism of the Ministry of Defense in respect to award presentations. Indeed, such award presentations have educational value. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA was not reticent about publishing several examples of military commissars breaching the law and tolerating ignorance and negligence, and allowing presentation of decorations via third persons or, alternatively, presenting these at inappropriate times. We are fighting against such things. Luckily, about 6.5 million frontline veterans are alive and well today. The great majority of them—probably 98%—have received decorations and about 2% will do so in the near future. We hope to complete the presentation of awards by the 70th anniversary of the Armed Forces.

There are many problems which could be discussed. I would like to ask you to please approach this problem of youth education and the inculcation of patriotism in people the way authors should. Today, one may very well get by. But if there is a war tomorrow, everyone will have to take up arms. During the Patriotic War one had only to take a rifle in one's hands and learn to use it, which was easy. One, two, and that was all there was to it. Now, to operate a radar, to take charge of a modern plane, or to drive a modern tank without appropriate training is impossible. Contemporary machinery is equipped with computers and instruments. Is it necessary to train a man to program this computer? Of course. Will an untrained patriot be able to drive a tank and score a hit?

Just as a pianist must practice every day, so must a tank driver train daily so that he can, with the aid of instruments, direct the guns to the target. Many things are being changed in all spheres of a soldier's labor.

There is now hardly anything that cannot be found in the Army. Many think the Army is a mere parasite. No, comrades, it is not so. We have a construction plan that is greater than that of the two construction ministries. That is how much we appropriate for the construction of military, civil, social and cultural, and other objectives. Nobody delivers milk or meat to Novaya Zemlya, Chukotka, or other "pleasant" places of this kind, but people also live there, although they are referred to as families of officers. There are children in those families, and we provide for these families. One often forgets about an officer and his family. Yekaterina Trubetskaya and Mariya Volkonskaya [wives of exiled Decembrists] followed the Decembrists to Chita, which is now a beautiful city. Nekrasov wrote a poem about the wives of officers presently serving in Afghanistan, but nobody ever says a good word about those in Novaya Zemlya or Chukotka.

You owe us a great deal, a great deal. We also owe you. Let us jointly work on education of the up-and-coming generation. Let us jointly work on making our fatherland stronger. In this will be our unity. I agree with all the speakers that power lies in unity. Allow me, esteemed comrades, to thank you for coming here. I think that we, perhaps, should meet more often. I would not object if you expressed a wish to be invited to a regiment. I would not object to preparing contemporary maneuvers and demonstrating contemporary equipment to you. I think that we have nothing to hide from authors—the engineers of human souls [Gorkiy's expression]. Neither of us have anything to hide.

Yazov, Kulikov, Mironenko Celebrate Army Jubilee

PM201511 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Reliable Shield of the Motherland"]

[Text] The Soviet Armed Forces, just like our whole country, are totally absorbed in restructuring and are working persistently to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU congress and the subsequent party Central Committee plenums. Army and Navy servicemen are discharging their patriotic and international duty with honor and are reliably ensuring the security of the motherland. This was stated at the all-union seminar "USSR Armed Forces—70 Years of Guarding Peace and the Gains of Socialism" which opened in Moscow 19 January.

The seminar was addressed by Army General D.T. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of defense. The creation of the Soviet Armed Forces, their growth and development, and their daily life and activities, he noted, are inseparably linked with the name of V.I. Lenin and the leadership of the Communist Party. Throughout their 70-year-long heroic history the Army and Navy have mounted steadfast guard over the gains of Great October.

The Soviet Armed Forces are being built and developed in accordance with the fundamental provisions of Soviet military doctrine and are maintained in a state of combat readiness sufficient to prevent them being caught unawares. This is dictated by the international situation and is a demand of the party and the people.

Soviet servicemen are persistently mastering modern weapons and combat hardware, perfecting their field, air, and naval skills, enhancing their ideological and physical tempering, and strengthening discipline and organization. Our Army and Navy are a reliable guarantor of the Soviet people's peaceful creative labor.

The seminar was addressed by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; V.I. Mironenko, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; and others.

The all-union seminar is continuing.

Admiral Questions Gulf Escort Ships' Readiness

PM191643 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Rear Admiral V. Sergeyev article: "According to Strict Criteria. From Experience of Sailing in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] Soviet warships sailing in the Indian Ocean are actively and successfully escorting Soviet ships with peaceful freight in the Persian Gulf. They are operating under conditions of a war situation, providing antimine, antimissile, anti-aircraft, and other kinds of protection for the warships and the ships they are escorting.

There has been a fundamental change in the military-political situation in the Persian Gulf of late. Whereas a year ago only part of the Gulf was a zone of combat operations, it is impossible to speak of any boundaries now: Mines are being laid in international shipping lanes and in ports, peaceful ships are being fired on and subjected to pirate raids, and strikes are being made against civilian targets.

The special nature of service in this region not only helps to reveal our strengths but also makes us think deeply about the problems that still exist. They are highlighted here, as though by x-rays. Since these problems are not seen so sharply in the fleets, I consider it my duty to speak about them in a frank and principled manner. The most disturbing lesson from sailing in the Persian Gulf, in my view, is the fact that a system of combat training has taken shape in certain units and ships which does not correspond in all respects to the requirements of modern marine combat. The trouble is that people in some places are accustomed to fulfilling the requirements of guiding documents in a simplified manner. A specific example. A marine minesweeper arrived in the Persian Gulf some time ago. To judge from reports, in its Pacific Fleet formation it had fully rehearsed all the course tasks and with high assessments and fulfilled the combat test exercises: This meant it was ready to conduct the combat operations peculiar to it. But then the field staff [pokhodnyy shtab] checked out the crew, and it at once came to light that the sweeping team was inadequately trained and had never set up certain kinds of sweeps at all. There were shortcomings in the use of antimine armaments.

What was the matter? It all proved simple. In the formation from where the minesweeper had come its crew had trained under simplified conditions, only element by element, not comprehensively.

I am sure there is no reason to look for any technical, economic, or other causes here. It is all down to the position of the minesweeper's commander—Lieutenant Commander V. Korolev—and the formation's staff and political organ which directed training not toward readiness for real combat but just toward the assessment result. This is confirmed primarily by the fact that, when a whole series of organizational training sessions and exercises was conducted on the ship, the crew found the necessary form and subsequently successfully fulfilled the tasks of protecting peaceful shipping.

Such facts indicate that a "paper" mentality still exists. For us Navy sailors specific results denote real combat readiness. Real, not paper, readiness! For not even the most excellent report on the holding of exercises can detect and destroy a mine and ensure, if the need suddenly arises, that an attack by launches or a missile strike is repulsed. What is needed here is the true ability of the crew—from the commander to the youngest seaman—to fight.

This is the only yardstick the field staff uses in its approach to checking the level of personnel combat training. It frequently turns out that its criteria are appreciably higher than those by which ships are assessed in the places where they are permanently based. Yet they are perfectly natural. Here are a few features by way of illustration. As soon as a ship arrives to sail in the Persian Gulf, officers of the field staff at once go across. The first things they study are the quarter and station bills and personnel actions in accordance with instructions. Each flagship specialist analyzes personnel training in his own area and directs training sessions of battle stations, command posts, combat units, and combat shifts. Only after this does the ship weigh anchor and go to fulfill combat test exercises. They are all conducted in accordance with the demands of modern combat. Of course, the commander is given a number of exercise settings which simulate situations that could arise when escorting ships in the Gulf—and the crew acts entirely in accordance with them, without any conventions, using weapons and technical means. Bottlenecks in the seamen's training at once become visible.

The staff does not leave the ship until it has helped the crew to eliminate shortcomings. Only after this does the staff consider the ship ready to fulfill tasks in the Persian Gulf.

Everything would seem to be simple. But it is precisely this simplicity and orientation toward specific results that certain commanders, in my view, lack. How can one account for instance where personnel have not been trained to give medical assistance on injury and where seamen have not acquired automatic skills in using weapons? And yet all these are elementary questions in training for real combat. Back at base people can cover up their irresponsibility, but in our situation it can at once be seen who is who. Sometimes you are simply amazed how deeply the simplified approach has eaten into the work style of individual officers. At meetings there are cheery reports on readiness to fulfill any task, but when you give a specific exercise setting, trouble starts in a particular subunit. But with report documents in his hands the commander tries to prove how well he has trained his subordinates.

The field political department and party organizations have to struggle vigorously against such sentiments and attitudes toward work and retune people's consciousness to a genuine combat wavelength.

Lessons must also be drawn from shortcomings in the technical and rear training of individual ships. There are cases where ships set out on a long voyage not equipped with refrigerating machines or even elementary conditioners. This for operations in a region where the air temperature is 50° for most of the year, and the water temperature is 35°. It is characteristic that all these ships were checked by the corresponding staffs before setting out.

Of course, all shortcomings are fully eliminated on the spot, for we cannot allow a ship that is unprepared in even the smallest way to fulfill tasks of protecting peaceful shipping. But it is considerably more difficult and disadvantageous to do this far from your native shores than on the eve of a voyage. Despite all the difficulties, the marine minesweeper Turbinist, the destroyer Stoykiy, and other ships have quickly built up a combat rhythm and are working reliably to ensure shipping thanks to the crews' selfless actions.

The captains and crews of peaceful Soviet ships invariably thank the naval sailors for their courage and selflessness in protecting them in the Persian Gulf. In conclusion I will cite a revealing fact in this respect. Foreign ships sometimes join up with our ships as "gatecrashers," and they feel out of danger beside ships of the USSR Navy. This is guaranteed both by our peaceful aims in the Persian Gulf and by the Soviet ships' high combat readiness.

Kurkotkin on Tasks of Rear Services

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[Colonel L. Nechayuk report: "Focusing on Concern for People"]

[Text] A conference has been held of leading personnel from Army and Navy rear service organs. A report was delivered by Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Kurkotkin, USSR deputy defense minister and USSR Armed Forces Rear Services chief.

The main speaker analyzed in detail the dynamics of restructuring in the work of rear service commanders, political organs, and specialists in implementing the party's socioeconomic policy and improving material and leisure services, and the living, combat training, and service conditions of Army and Navy personnel. He noted that this year is particularly important—the party directives pertaining to fundamental economic reform will have to be given specific expression.

The restructuring of the military economy and the entire activity of rear service organs, the report stressed, must be aimed at unconditionally ensuring the high combat readiness of troops and naval forces and the priority of the social sphere in the activity of commanders, political organs, and party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and at strengthening law and order and discipline in all units.

The conference participants discussed ways of solving the priority and future tasks facing rear service organs in the year ahead. There was an exchange of experience of party political work.

Colonel General V. Nechayev, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate deputy chief, and the leaders of USSR Defense Ministry main and central directorates took part in the conference's work.

Kolbin Participates in Alma-Ata Party Meeting

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[Text] Today in Alma-Ata a meeting of the party aktiv of the Order of the Red Banner Central Asian military district was held. The meeting examined the course of restructuring in the work of military cadres, political organs, and party organizations in light of the decisions of the 27th party congress, subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the tasks set by the USSR minister of defense for the new academic year. It was noted that it was a must to concentrate the efforts of Communists on the struggle against the vestiges of stagnant phenomena and against instances of passivity among officers in the exercise of their duty. All that is valuable and progressive that has been accumulated in the competition to mark the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces in a worthy manner must be consolidated and developed during the prparation for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Comrade Kolbin, Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee first secretary, participated in the work of the district's party aktiv meeting.